

## LINCOLN MEMORIAL

He knew his Bible, and his Shakespeare, well;  
Surveyed raw plains, kept store, directed  
mail;  
Rode horseback on the Illinois trail,  
A long, lank, prairie lawyer; cast a spell:  
"Four score and 7 years ago," said he,  
"Our fathers brought forth on this continent  
A new nation"—and "new" is what he  
meant—  
Fair-founded, and "conceived in liberty."  
Simple his cabin birth, sudden his end:  
"Now he belongs," said Stanton, "to the  
ages."  
Wars of today, though fought on wider  
stages,  
Freedom still wins. Here Lincoln, free-  
dom's friend,  
Memoried is, our 16th President:  
Folks of all faiths still up these steps are  
bent.  
—EDITH BANNISTER DOWLING.

## ASTRONAUT

The capsule soars. The man inside  
Works on his own, with our world's hope  
Upon him. Far below that ride  
This world is very small in scope.  
In outer space, each hue, each sight  
Is thin and strange as upper air.  
What keeps him, through swift days, and  
night?  
He told us, with a prayer.  
—EDITH BANNISTER DOWLING.

## JAMESTOWN

Three hundred and fifty years ago,  
From England over the sea  
On the long high wave sailed a company brave  
In three ships, the *Delivery*,  
The *Constant*, and the small trim *Goodspeed*.  
After great voyaging  
They reached river land on a virgin strand;  
And they named their port for the King.  
Three hundred and fifty years ago,  
In the Old Dominion new,  
Jamestown was made, in the kind trees' shade,  
And a strong colony grew:  
Church and fort were built and maintained—  
For God, praise; for men, laws;  
And through trial and strife they established  
a life  
Independent, yet true to the Cause.  
Cavaliers of Virginia, loyal to their King:  
Smith, Newport, Gates, and Dale,  
And Berkeley and more, through fires and war  
Working for right to prevail.

The Starving Time passed, and the Indians settled,  
And the Maids fetched across the foam,  
They raised their corn, and the babes there born,  
And began to forget their home.  
Three hundred and fifty years later,  
On that island, now consecrate,  
Where the old church hallows the river shallows,  
Men still revere the great;  
The great Founders, and great Preservers,  
Through sunny years and gray,  
Of the first story in our South's glory—  
Of Jamestown, U.S.A.  
—EDITH BANNISTER DOWLING.

FOR A LIVE-OAK PLANTING IN BEAUFORT, S.C.,  
ARBOR DAY (1965)

"A green thought in a green shade,"  
A long-ago poet wrote down,  
And Marvel's "green thought" again is made  
A fact, in this island town:  
Today we are adding one more green tree  
To our bounty—an ever-green,  
With shadowed grace, over land and sea,  
And a haven for birds who preen

In its moss-boughs, gray in sun, green in  
rain;  
By the Inland Waterway  
It shall grow in glory with might and main,  
This tree, from this Arbor Day.  
—EDITH BANNISTER DOWLING.

And now, far off again, remember sadly,  
Glad to have known, sad to have left: for  
there,  
On Crested Butte, I saw that double rainbow,  
Life's grief, and hope; and answer to my  
prayer.  
—EDITH BANNISTER DOWLING.

## UNTO THE HILLS

I would not yet grow old.  
I would not be stiff cold  
With the new buds uncurled.  
Oh endless hills,  
Your agelessness I crave.  
Let not the severing grave  
Clay down the heart that thrills  
To the sweet sights of living,  
The sounds of song, and storm,  
And the feel, final, warm,  
Of love's taking and giving.  
Oh lovely world I see  
Around me, green and gold,  
Trees, sky, and earth—I hold  
My heritage from thee  
In humble fealty.  
—EDITH BANNISTER DOWLING.

## SONG FOR MUSIC

The year is hard  
And countries fall.  
Each man's future  
A stone wall.  
The flesh of love  
Is blown away.  
Cinders, not flowers,  
Every day.  
The year is hard.  
The watchwords change.  
The only progress  
The bombers' range.  
But sometimes yet,  
Where men stay free,  
The air may shiver  
With harmony.  
Tremble of flute;  
Strings new-born;  
Challenge of trumpet;  
Whoop of horn.  
While under the wars  
A sleepless guard  
Hums a tune remembered—  
The year is hard.  
—EDITH BANNISTER DOWLING.

## TO A COLORADO MOUNTAIN

Oh Crested Butte, from far across this country  
I crave your immobility of stone—  
Capture, and lose you, having left; stern-yielding  
You stand, immobile-changeable, alone  
Majestic and self-living, shades amassing  
Of every hue of heaven, from dawns to eves;  
Rock-crowned, above your timberline, breath-taking;  
Male as your crags, female as aspen leaves.  
Rigid, and quivering, guarding the green valley  
Which awoke the first white man here, long ago—  
Oh Crested Butte, from far across this country  
I yearn for you, in flower, and in your snow.  
Miles high, in summer's shining, stirring hours,  
I found, beyond the trees, such lone delight:  
Peeping among your pebbles, wild English flowers,  
Far-Western miniatures, in the thin sunlight;  
Harebell, and heather; bugle, and sheep-herd's purse;  
Across the ocean and the miles, the same.  
Once England, now this mountain, is the nurse,  
Kindly and strong of bosom, whom I claim,

## THE INDIVIDUAL CASUALTY IN VIETNAM—A RADIO BROADCAST FROM SAIGON

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I think we all have a tendency to become hardened by press reports of dozens of battles involving thousands of men. Arthur Koestler observed once that "statistics do not bleed." Amidst the tumult and the shouting we frequently lose sight of the individual casualty—and of the tragic cost of war.

A recent radio broadcast from Saigon movingly elaborated on the meaning of this cost. The radio correspondent is a constituent of mine, Clyde Edwin Pettit, who traveled around the world on assignment of Station KBBA in Benton, Ark., and did some most incisive reporting on the war in Vietnam.

The station to which I refer is owned by David McDonald, Winston Riddle, and Mel Spann of my State. It is a small station, without the budget or the staff or the facilities of the large networks or the weekly news magazines. But like many other small stations and periodicals throughout our country, they try to do a good job of honest and accurate reporting. I believe that stations like this are to be commended on their high level of public service programming.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a transcript of one of Mr. Pettit's series of broadcasts be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## BROADCAST FROM SAIGON

For KBBA news, this is Ed Pettit reporting from Saigon.

This is the last of our letters from Vietnam.

In these broadcasts we could have been talking about battalions and regiments, about casualties and statistics, about tactics and strategy. But instead we've been talking about people, about GI's and Vietnamese. For it takes people to fight a war. And when wars end, as all wars must someday end, men may look back on days gone by, may reminisce of the pleasures of conquest, or of comradeship, or of common fears once fleetingly known.

But those who have seen the face of war are never nostalgic about war itself. For no man can honestly glorify nor glamorize war. That is, no one who has really been there.

For war is the men in the camps, and the women who follow the camps, and it is also disease as well as death or destruction. And it is drudgery—plain hard work and the monotony of being "support troops"—the totally important men without which there could be no war. Many would like to be in combat, but they are support troops, knowing that for the rest of their lives they will be asked, "Were you ever in combat?" They will hesitate and answer, but they now know they will never be able to explain that simply being here in Vietnam can be dangerous, and that any man is in combat the instant somebody tries to kill him.

War is the infinite beauty of a verdant jungle anguished by a piercing animal shriek of one man bayoneting another. And his last breath is the final, pitiable groan of one you didn't even know, could hardly hate, and of whom you might have been a friend under other circumstances.

For war is taking, and war is giving, and war is the sharing of common hopes and dreams.

War is walking warily in the steps of the man in front of you, and the funny feeling of knowing that if your friend steps on a land mine he will be the one to get it. Only the first man knows how it feels to walk in front.

War is the tension of being a target, and, for some, of being hit by your own men because somebody made a mistake.

If you're a civilian here, war is the chance to make a quick killing in the black market. Or, perhaps, to quick killing, period, if you are paid well enough. Or, for some civilians, the chance to see your house burned to the ground by a bomb. Or to see your father's head cut off before your eyes.

War is the warm, rich blood of a man washing away and mixing with the black mud of the Mekong River, each cell of his blood stamped by his heredity with the uniqueness that made him, once, an individual.

So war is the wicked waste and destruction of the wonder of life itself.

Perhaps the worst thing about war is that it changes the laughter of those who love life into the weeping of new wives and young widows. War is hardest on the living, on those who must carry on, tortured by poignant memories of the past, racked with the bitter reality of the irrevocable, destined always to wonder, pointlessly, what might have been.

War is death, and death is an indiscriminate harlot who chooses capriciously with whom she will lie in fatal embrace—the coward today, the brave man tomorrow.

And war is something that puts the really important things in their proper perspective: things like survival and health.

War is the triumphantly happy smile on the face of a kid who has just been told by a doctor that only a few more operations and he may be able to see again.

In war there is the joy of simple things: of tasting a chocolate milk shake, or a cold beer, or of getting to see a Hollywood movie out in the field at night even if the mosquitoes are biting you. And perhaps the greatest pleasure of all: the joy of a shower once a week, if you're lucky.

War is a bunch of guys having a last game of touch football before going out on a patrol from which some may never return.

War is the wandering mind of a young man on guard duty, thinking wistfully of a fireplace in Vermont, or a girl in Tennessee, or a hotrod in California.

War is a bangalore mine blowing the guts out of a guy from Grand Rapids.

War is the form of what once was a man, covered by flies, in a half-forgotten foreign field.

This might have been a doctor—  
Or a druggist from Des Moines—  
Or a farmer in Florida—  
Or a crop-dusting pilot from Pine Bluff.  
Or he might have been a happy failure.

But now he is a statistic: only one of the casualties termed "moderate" in the press reports and by the politicians.

Of course, a nation must never fear to fight aggression and tyranny. But it would be a disservice to the dead not to pause and, out of respect, consider the cost.

For the cost of war is in the millions: the millions of homes that will never be built, the millions who will die from diseases that would have been conquered by medical research were it not for the cost of war.

The cost of war is in the billions: the billions of days that will never be lived.

The cost of war is the cost of a kid from Kansas who will never see a wheat harvest again.

It is boy from Boston who will never see his own son grow up to skin his knee on a city sidewalk.

It is a lad from Louisiana who will never live to fall in love, and laugh with a girl in the rain.

All these things are war, and many more things, too.

But fortunately for most war is coming home.

And later—much later—when a summer storm comes to the dark Midwestern sky, you hear thunder, and for a moment you think of gunfire, once long ago, and so very far away.

And you laugh, because you made it back.

Then you stop smiling, as you think of friends: of Chuck and Joe and Fred—who didn't make it back.

This is Ed Pettit reporting from Saigon for KEBA News.

#### AMERICAN AGRICULTURE—THE GREATEST SUCCESS STORY

Mr. RUSSELL of South Carolina. Mr. President, in a world where a great imbalance in the supply of food and fiber is causing grave concern on the part of all thinking men, American agriculture stands out as our greatest success story. Perhaps there is a tendency to overlook this fact in our booming industrial economy. Yet American farms have outpaced industrial productivity in our Nation by a factor of approximately 3 to 1. At the same time, our farm population has not shared the full benefits of this bountiful yield, either in income or other material rewards of our affluent society. If 43 percent of our farm families have annual incomes of \$3,000 or less, we need to rededicate our domestic efforts on their behalf, and spend less on foreign aid.

I need not remind my colleagues that America is the best fed and best clothed Nation in the world; that our surpluses have worked as effectively for peace as our weapons, and that in our present declaration of world war on hunger, the American farmer is once more the backbone of this effort.

But despite our tremendous successes, we cannot feed and clothe the world. I believe the challenge is more in sharing our farm technology than our products or yield. The whole direction of our foreign aid should be that of helping all nations become more self-sufficient, so as to reduce the mounting financial burdens on the American people. Industrially, our efforts are fruitful—West Germany is a glowing example. But so long as hunger is rampant throughout the world, the American conscience will constantly prod us into action.

Let me pause here and provide a few significant figures for the RECORD. According to the latest budget summary, our national debt has grown from \$270 billion in 1946 to \$318 billion in 1965. This increase of approximately \$50 billion is more than twice offset by our total investment in foreign aid and assistance, including food for peace, which by 1965 totaled \$116 billion. Without this \$116 billion expenditure, our national debt might have been significantly reduced following World War II. America, however, has been quite willing to

mortgage the future of her children in order to bring relief to friend and foe alike. Our charity would seem to exceed the demands of the Good Book itself, which should influence the relations of all mankind.

I was pleased recently to note that administration officials are stressing agriculture and self-help in the new \$3.3 billion foreign assistance program, which over a 5-year stretch might cost the taxpayer another \$16 billion. How long can our wealth and resources stand this drain? For this reason, I have advocated a diminishing scale of foreign aid over the next 5 years, so as to impress foreign nations with the absolute necessity of becoming more self-sufficient.

There are many pros and cons in the matter of foreign aid. I, for one, could not give thought to this program of worldwide relief without the assurance that it was temporary, and designed to help other nations rebuild their resources and become self-sufficient. As I recall, the initial budget for the Marshall plan was \$5 billion under a 5-year authorization totaling about \$17 billion. This was most certainly a modest beginning, compared with the fact that we have now exceeded this estimate by \$100 billion. This demonstrates the danger of letting the wily camel get his nose under the tent. But that was almost 20 years ago, and \$100 billion less. It cannot and must not become the permanent dole, as its history would indicate.

There is a recent development that should give us hope in this respect. I speak of the willingness of our agricultural press—magazines and newspapers alike, to share the techniques of scientific farm production with foreign nations. I believe the inexpensive dissemination of scientific knowledge from the laboratory to the land in America is vital. For truly, our press has made a vast contribution in the science of agriculture.

In a recent exchange of letters between the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, and the president of the Agricultural Publishers Association, James Miholland, Jr., Cleveland, Ohio, Secretary Freeman recognized this program when he wrote:

I was particularly interested in your comment that people of other nations have contacted your association and its members in an effort to learn more about the methods used to provide American farmers with a constant flow of vital information. This is a highly encouraging development. On my travels abroad it has been very plain that one of the biggest agricultural problems facing the world in its efforts to combat hunger and improve nutrition is how to close the gap which exists between technical data in the laboratory and the applications of these data on the land. Whatever contributions you and your associates can make to help improve the diffusion of agricultural knowledge, especially in economically emerging nations, will be a truly great service.

Here is the very essence of a program to stimulate self-help. I am informed a study group of weekly and small daily newspaper publishers is planning a trip to Japan and east Asia this year. James Miholland, Jr., is also planning a trip abroad this summer. In western Europe, he will confer with government leaders

Saigon. The village—named Tan Phu, which means "New Prosperity"—is an example of what South Vietnam and the United States are trying to do to rebuild and unify the country.

But Vietcong terrorists have now come in and murdered the village finance officer and the chief of one of the five hamlets that make up the village.

In the last 2 years the Vietcong have murdered between 650 and 700 local officials and kidnapped another 1,500. More than 3,000 other civilians—many of them members of families of officials—also have been killed.

These have not been murders of passion—even of revenge. They have been committed deliberately to keep South Vietnam from achieving the stability that can come only on a foundation of local government. The Vietcong formula is simple—kill those in important public jobs.

Those who would have us pull out of the country on the grounds that the Saigon government can't organize the country and get the support of its own people should consider why this is so difficult.

And those who bleed over burning or using chemicals to destroy rice crops to keep them from falling into Vietcong hands should weigh that "atrocious" against the hundreds of cold-blooded murders of civilian officials.

#### TRIBUTE TO LESLIE L. BIFFLE

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial, published in the Washington Post, in tribute to the late Leslie L. Biffle, former Secretary of the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### LESLIE L. BIFFLE

During his 44 years of service as an employee of the U.S. Senate, ending with his tenure as Secretary of the Senate in 1952, Leslie L. Biffle was the very ideal of a legislative functionary. His infinite attention to all the details of the legislative process freed successive senatorial "employers" from duties and responsibilities that otherwise would have impinged upon their responsibility for policy. He was the sort of indefatigable, tireless, self-effacing detail man that every official searches for and that few find.

Politics was his life. The son of an officeholder, he was brought up to understand public affairs and to enjoy them from early youth. He was always the faithful adjutant, but he was not without political instinct and purposes of his own. His relationships with Senator Joseph Robinson were close and his rapport with President Truman was complete.

The business of Congress could not go forward without such public servants. They are often relatively unknown to most citizens, but the mark of their personality nevertheless is on countless pieces of legislation that never would come to pass without their largely anonymous contributions to congressional deliberation. Leslie L. Biffle, on his own merit and as the personification of loyal legislative servants like him, deserves the tribute of his countrymen.

#### THE KETTLE BOILS IN VIETNAM

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, a major obstacle to bringing about an armistice and a cease-fire is and has been the refusal of warlike officials high in the Johnson administration such as Secretary of State Dean Rusk to agree to negotiate directly with the National

Liberation Front, which is and has been for years the political arm of the Vietcong. In fact, the Vietnamese fighting for the liberation of their native land were first called the Viet Minh, and the National Liberation Front was the political arm of the forces of Ho Chi Minh fighting against French colonialism.

The National Liberation Front, which is headed by a Saigon lawyer who is not a Communist, presently controls probably three-fourths of the land area of South Vietnam. This despite the fact that American Armed Forces who have succeeded the French in trying to maintain a militarist regime in that part of Vietnam south of the 17th parallel are the finest soldiers in the world, and with devastating air power capability have engaged in the most destructive bombing the world has ever known. The Vietcong forces are the major adversary against which our forces are fighting. Of course, Vietcong delegates must participate in any conference if peace is to be restored to Vietnam.

How can Secretary Dean Rusk defend a viewpoint that we will not negotiate directly with the National Liberation Front or Vietcong? He has made the amazing statement that the Hanoi government represents the Vietcong, and he talks glibly about aggression from the north. He ignores the historical fact that there is no North and South Vietnam. The Geneva accords recognized this. It is clearly stated in that agreement which the United States through John Foster Dulles approved:

The military demarcation line at the 17th parallel is provisional and should not in any way be considered as constituting a political or territorial boundary.

At the present time and for some months past our CIA and State Department officials have been carrying on secret negotiations with the leaders of the National Liberation Front. The purpose is to secure the release of Gustav C. Hertz, an American civilian official in Vietnam and a Vietcong prisoner. Their offer is to return a captured Vietcong terrorist for the release of Gustav C. Hertz. It is noteworthy that State Department and CIA officials did not seek the release of Hertz by approaching the Hanoi government directly through an intermediary such as Algeria. They went direct to the National Liberation Front itself. This gives a lie to the claim repeatedly made that the National Liberation Front is simply a puppet of Hanoi. It reveals that CIA and State Department officials do in fact admit what officials in Asiatic nations have been saying all along—that the National Liberation Front is essentially independent of Hanoi.

The noted French historian, Philippe Devillers, a director of the National Political Science Foundation of Paris, has stated repeatedly that the Vietcong are waging a civil revolt against what they regard as an oppressive landowners' regime and militarists' dictatorship from Saigon. Professor Devillers was a former correspondent in French Indochina for *Le Monde*. He is the author of a history of Vietnam North Vietnam Today."

He states that unfortunately American leaders pretend to regard North Vietnam and South Vietnam as two separate nations when, in fact, the people of North and South Vietnam are one people. Very definitely he repeatedly states the fact that the conflict in South Vietnam is a civil war. It is not an aggression from North Vietnam or China. Furthermore, the facts are that there is no evidence whatever that China has even one military advisor with the Vietcong forces anywhere in South Vietnam. Professor Devillers has stated repeatedly that Secretary Rusk's statements as to military aid coming into the southern part of Vietnam from Hanoi is much less than claimed.

The Washington Post published an editorial, "The Kettle Boils in Vietnam," which I ask by unanimous consent be made a part of my remarks and inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE KETTLE BOILS IN VIETNAM

The threat of civil war within a civil war in Vietnam has been averted, but only for the present. Hope for a peaceful solution of the internal crisis now lies in the summoning as soon as possible of a convention, or "assembly of leaders" who can agree on a more representative regime.

Marshal Ky had to back down at Da Nang, and he has lost face. There is nothing more damaging in an oriental country. It probably means that his days as a premier are numbered. The problem is to make the transition peacefully and to end up with a government that will have popular support.

The United States appears to be in process of extricating itself from the commitment that President Johnson rashly made to Premier Ky at Honolulu in February. There is no need for the United States to sink or swim with any particular government leader or group in Saigon.

The United States has invested such huge stakes in the Vietnam war that it must operate as much as possible apart from internal Vietnamese politics and squabbles. In the present crisis, Marshal Ky came close to dragging the Americans into his factional conflict. His troops were flown to Da Nang in U.S. Air Force transport planes. The anti-American manifestations of recent days have taken on an ominous tone.

However, the war cannot be fought in a political vacuum. There is no time to lose. If South Vietnam is to have a government acceptable to Buddhist, Catholic, student, military, and civilian elements from all over the country, the "assembly of leaders" must be called quickly. Popular emotions either must get a peaceful political outlet or they will be expressed in violence.

#### POETRY OF EDITH BANNISTER DOWLING

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, South Carolina is blessed with many talented people, but none more so than Mrs. Edith Bannister Dowling. Her poetry has given pleasure and inspiration to a great number of people, and for the enjoyment and uplifting of my colleagues, I ask unanimous consent that six poems and a sonnet written by Mrs. Dowling be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poems were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## CORRECTION OF THE RECORD—NATIONAL GRANGE NO BEDFELLOW OF FARM BUREAU

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, on March 28 I heard AFL-CIO Vice President Joseph D. Keenan deliver an excellent account of the historic agrarian leadership of this country. The occasion was a dinner honoring James Patton, who retired recently from the presidency of the National Farmers Union. On April 1, I inserted Mr. Keenan's speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, along with my own comments, beginning on page 7088.

Yesterday, I was amazed to learn that the text of the Keenan speech which had been furnished me included three words which Mr. Keenan did not say.

Mr. Keenan actually said, during the course of his speech:

The National Farm Bureau Federation, year in and year out, in Washington and in the State capitals, thunders against every piece of social legislation designed to help the people in general, and wage earners in particular. They are as predictable as the National Association of Manufacturers—and they are almost always on the same side.

That statement is harsh, but, in my experience, dating from service in the Montana Legislature in 1937, true.

The copy of the Keenan speech furnished me included "and the Grange" after "The National Farm Bureau Federation." Mr. Keenan had wisely crossed out of his speech the unfactual statement that the National Grange belongs in the same antisocial category as the National Farm Bureau Federation.

That would have been an affront to the National Grange, which has a long and proud record of achievement for farm people and support for legislation that is in the national interest.

I have worked with Grange leaders of many States throughout my political life. We have sometimes differed, and we have usually fought on the same side. Most recently I used supporting correspondence from Orin P. Kendall, master of the Montana State Grange, to help make the case against unwise budget reductions proposed for the Department of Agriculture. The Washington State Grange has been one of the great leaders in western water development. The National Grange, especially in its early years, typified the type of agrarian leadership of which Mr. Keenan spoke. Had he included in his speech the reference which he deleted, he would have done violence to the facts and an injustice to a worthy organization.

I ask unanimous consent to correct the permanent RECORD so the second paragraph reads as it was delivered, as quoted in my remarks above.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. There being no objection, correction will be made.

## A PROPER BALANCE BETWEEN PUBLIC SERVICE NEWS COVERAGE AND ENTERTAINMENT

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, as the ranking minority member of the Senate Space Committee, I have a very deep

interest in our space program and I follow it very closely. In that interest I am concerned for the safety of the astronauts on every manned flight.

Over a decade ago it was my personal privilege to be associated with the late Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly in several of their programs of their distinguished "See It Now" series as they filmed several of the interviews I had with leaders of various nations throughout the world. Their "See It Now" series has never been equaled as a public service program.

Consequently, I vigorously applauded Fred Friendly's protest resignation and his eloquent plea for a greater sense of public service on the part of the networks and less subservience to commercialism.

Now, I am no devotee or fan of "The Batman"—but I do think that the networks can reach a point of overcoverage of news events and can carry the crusade of public service over entertainment to an extreme that is neither sensible nor justified nor serving a really constructive purpose.

Such was the case, in my opinion, in the overcoverage of the Gemini 8 recovery. Admitted that we should be concerned about the safety of the astronauts in the crisis that developed, nevertheless the networks went too far in their overcoverage. The networks wisely and easily, and with propriety and proper concern, could have given the viewing audience constant reports through the white subliminal bulletin tapes at the bottom of the screen, such as they have used in giving election returns without cutting into the regular programs. They could have done this—and when the safety—or forbid, tragedy—had been established, they could have broken into the program and still provided just as much conscientious and concerned news service as they did in the uninterrupted, endless drone that their overcoverage did produce.

I had no desire to see "Batman" and I admire and find most interesting the distinguished news teams of the networks, but enough is enough—whether it is a politician talking too long on television—or elsewhere—or a distinguished news analyst being placed in the extremely embarrassing position of having run out of something interesting to say, having run out of interesting material, and having to resort to what was nothing less than a TV filibuster.

Not only is this an imposition on the viewers. It is no less an imposition on the analyst-commentators.

It is time for the networks to grow up on this subject of the proper balance between public service news coverage and entertainment—to avoid the extremes of overdoing either crass commercialism or public service news that loses its purpose and interest after a certain point.

Nor is the overcoverage of the Gemini 8 spectacular easily justified by a condemnation of the "Batman" TV fans and the characterization of low mentality assigned to them. Frankly, I don't admire their choice—but they are entitled to their preference without being con-

demned and used as whipping boys to justify such overcoverage.

With his usual delightful sense of humor, columnist Don Maclean excellently evaluated this matter in his April 4, 1966, column in the Washington Daily News. I call it to the attention of the Members of this body and ask unanimous consent that it be placed in the body of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Don Maclean)

After "Batman" TV fans complained to the networks and the Federal Communications Commission when the show was interrupted for coverage of the Gemini 8 recovery, some folks said these were shallow-minded citizens who would rather watch fantasy than "real-life" drama. Maybe. But there's no denying that TV newsmen, unlike other performers, lack instinct about how to "get off" when they have nothing to say. For instance, during a 30-minute wait for word from the recovery area, NBC's Frank McGee and David Brinkley filled in with a gripping discussion about the model planes being used to demonstrate the rescue.

"Gee, Frank, is a C-54 a high-wing plane?" "I don't know, David, maybe we're using the wrong models." It went on and on. Meanwhile, some of us could have been watching the Bob Hope Show, as originally scheduled. While not high drama, it certainly cuts model airplane news. The live coverage could have gone off when there was nothing to report and returned when there was. Altho they tried that when LBJ had a cold. All night the networks interrupted shows in this manner: "Stand by, please, for this bulletin from our newsroom \* \* \* there is nothing new to report at this time \* \* \* now, back to our regularly scheduled program." \* \* \*

VN  
VIETCONG FORMULA

Mr. MONTOYA. Mr. President, it is the opinion of the Washington Daily News that:

In no war has there been such a cold and calculated campaign of murdering civilian officials as that of the Communist Vietcong in South Vietnam.

The paper points out:

In the last 2 years the Vietcong have murdered between 650 and 700 local officials and kidnaped another 1,500. More than 3,000 other civilians—many of them members of families of officials—also have been killed.

It adds:

The Vietcong formula is simple—kill these in important public jobs.

This editorial furnishes more information on the nature of the enemy, and I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## VIETCONG FORMULA—MURDER

There have been many atrocities in every war.

But in no war has there been such a cold and calculated campaign of murdering civilian officials as that of the Communist Vietcong in South Vietnam.

An atrocity just reported from Saigon by Scripps-Howard's Wal Friedenberg is typical.

In February Vice President HUMPHREY visited a "model village" on the outskirts of

eral examiners have an extremely important psychological effect.

Federal examiners also make it much easier for Negroes to register. Often they work longer hours and more days than the local registrar. In addition, there are more of them, and often they are dispersed around a county so they are more accessible. In Birmingham alone there are some 20 examiners working at 8 locations.

FEDERAL EXAMINERS ARE NECESSARY IN  
SUNFLOWER COUNTY

Mr. Speaker, the need for Federal examiners in Sunflower County is especially acute. On April 8, 1965, in United States against Campbell, N.D. Miss., No. GC 633, the Federal District Court found, in the words of the Fifth Circuit in the later case of Hamer against Campbell, "that the registrar of Sunflower County, Miss., for many, many years had deprived Negro citizens of their right to register to vote." That was 1 year ago. Today, according to Justice Department figures, less than 15 percent of the eligible Negroes in Sunflower County are registered to vote—despite the court order and the Voting Rights Act. By contrast, about 83 percent of the eligible whites in Sunflower County are registered. At the current rate of registration, the percentage of registered Negroes will not equal the percentage of registered whites for 7 years.

Yet Sunflower County will be holding important elections in a few months. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals voided the municipal elections held in the county last June 8, in the case of Hamer against Campbell, handed down on March 11, 1966. The court ordered that a date be set for new elections. Those elections will be the only local elections held in Mississippi this year. Moreover, as a result of the Hamer case, as well as the historical role of Sunflower County as the birthplace of the White Citizens Council, this county has taken on symbolic importance throughout the South and throughout the country.

On Friday, March 18, the New York Herald-Tribune editorial said that the Hamer case "merits as much attention as the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the Voting Rights Act itself." The editorial continued:

The Fifth Circuit ordered new elections because Negroes had been denied the vote through discrimination for "many, many years," in the county where the white citizens councils were born. Thus it tells the archsegregationists that political segregation is, to borrow a phrase from the criminal courts, dead-dead-dead.

There are additional reasons why Federal examiners are needed in Sunflower County. To vote in the municipal elections, citizens must be registered in the municipality as well as the county. Thus there is a double registration process required. According to civil rights groups in Sunflower County, some of the municipal registrars continue to harass Negro applicants.

Furthermore, one of the important innovations of the Voting Rights Act is its provision for Federal pollwatchers. Such officials would be most important in an arch-segregation county like Sunflower.

However, under section 8 of the act, pollwatchers are only sent to "political subdivisions" where "an examiner is serving under this act." Thus, to take advantage of Federal pollwatchers, a county must have Federal examiners.

The Attorney General has the power to certify for the appointment of examiners. Under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 the Attorney General is given very broad discretionary power. In any jurisdiction to which the act applies under section 6, he can certify a political subdivision to the Civil Service Commission if "in his judgment the appointment of examiners is otherwise necessary to enforce the guarantees of the 15th amendment." One consideration under section 6 is the degree of compliance of the local registrar. Another is "whether the ratio of nonwhite persons to white persons registered to vote within such subdivision appears to him to be reasonably attributable to violations of the 15th amendment."

In Sunflower County it is clear that the disparity in registration is "attributable to violations of the 15th amendment." That was the Court's finding last April in United States against Campbell. It is also evident that the registrar in Sunflower is not exercising the maximum possible compliance. His office is not open evenings. He does not spend days traveling the circuit, or sitting in the other towns of the county.

Recent statements by the Attorney General have made it clear that he does not think that compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 may be satisfied by nondiscriminatory registration practices. The act also calls for measures to overcome the effect of past abuses. In a letter to Mississippi registrars on January 8, 1966, the Attorney General wrote:

Compliance with the 15th amendment means not only that local officials may not practice distinctions based upon race, but that they are under a duty to take affirmative steps to correct the effects of past discrimination.

He went on to describe some possible affirmative steps:

In conducting registration, if it makes good sense to be open during longer hours, or during some evenings, or on Saturday, or to employ extra clerks, or to hold registration in the precincts, then I believe you should do so.

The registrar in Sunflower County has not taken all of these steps.

On February 28, 1966, in a speech to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, the Attorney General described the case of Birmingham, Ala., with justifiable pride:

The vote, after all, is not a privilege, to be stingily dispensed. It is a right, to be made available freely. Where local officials do not thus take steps to make registration and voting accessible, it is my duty to do so.

A major case in point is Birmingham—Jefferson County, Ala. Registration officials there were not discriminating against individual applicants. They dropped the literacy test. But they responded only grudgingly to the fact that 90,000 Negroes were not registered and under the act should have been free to do so.

After discussions with the Department of Justice beginning early in December, they took some steps to increase registration ca-

pacity, but even these fell far short. More than half the unregistered Negroes in the county still would not have had even an opportunity to apply for registration before the deadline for the May 3 Alabama primary.

Nonetheless, the local officials would take no further steps to increase access—steps they have taken in the past to meet heavy white registration demand.

The result, 5 weeks ago, was the appointment of Federal examiners. As many as 20 examiners have been working in Jefferson County, first in 3 locations, and now in 8.

The result of accelerated local registration coupled now with examiners has been striking. When President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act last August 6, there were 26,255 Negroes registered in Jefferson County—22.6 percent of the voting-age Negro population.

On January 17, the day I designated Jefferson County for examiners, there were 41,930 Negroes registered—36.1 percent. Today, the figure exceeds 58,000 and the percentage exceeds 50 percent.

The Attorney General's action in Birmingham should serve as a model for his actions throughout the South. It is a particularly good indication of what the Justice Department should do in Sunflower County.

Yet it is worth noting that there is still another step—beyond what has been done in Birmingham—which the Justice Department can and often should take. Under section 7(a) of the Voting Rights Act, the Civil Service Commission is given power to put examiners wherever it likes within a designated political subdivision. Many residents of Mississippi have asked that Federal examiners be assigned to go door to door. They point out that many Negroes in rural areas—and particularly those on plantations—have no means of transportation. They have been warned not to leave the plantation. During chopping and picking seasons, they work from sunup to sundown. Furthermore, they still think that voting is just for white folks. All of these obstacles will only be fully overcome when Federal examiners are sent door to door.

In his testimony to the House Judiciary Committee on March 19, 1965, Chairman John M. Macy, Jr., of the U.S. Civil Service Commission stated that he thought door-to-door registration was authorized by the act. On pp. 316-317 of the voting rights hearings the following dialog occurs:

Mr. KASTENMEIER. In other words, you would be free to set a number of places of registration and this could take place during the evening, for example?

Mr. MACY. That is my interpretation, yes, sir.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Even in some communities you might authorize examiners to go door to door?

Mr. MACY. That had not occurred to me but if it is necessary it is probably possible to do it.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. If it is I hope you will do it.

Mr. Speaker, the Attorney General has the power and the duty to send Federal examiners into counties where they are needed to achieve the goals of the Voting Rights Act. Examiners are needed in Sunflower County. They are needed elsewhere as well. They should be sent at once. And once there, they should be instructed to take all possible steps to

in Saigon, Danang and Hue against the American presence there. I reiterate the question: is he acting as a man of God or an agent of the Communist Vietcong? The record is crystal clear in my mind. His presence in South Vietnam is not as a Buddhist monk but as a subversive agent.

But, his record continues. There is more.

There has been a consistent report that Thich is, in fact, a lawyer, trained in the Communist north and a practicing attorney there. There are also persistent reports that he went north to Communist Hanoi after the 1954 Geneva partition of Vietnam, thus joining the very few who voluntarily chose to live under the rule of Ho Chi Minh. His movements between 1954 and 1958 are virtually unknown.

No less a personage than former Vietnamese Prime Minister Tran Van Huong stated that documentary evidence exists to prove that Thich Tri Quang worked to stir up insurrections against the Government in 1964 which would have put the Communists in power in Saigon. Maj. Gen. Do Cao Tri, commander of the 1st Vietnamese Division at Hue, claims to have captured Vietcong documents naming Thich as an agent. The general also states that an agent of the CIA exerted pressure to suppress the documents because they would have proved embarrassing to our Government.

The record should contain also, Mr. Speaker, another quotation from Thich, himself; one he made in the Saigon Post:

With the Americans, it is not so interesting any more. They are too easy to outwit \* \* \* some of them persist in thinking they can "reform" me into agreeing with them. \* \* \* It is useful to smile sometimes and let them think so. \* \* \* We will use the Americans to help us get rid of Americans.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, we reach the very root of the dissent we hear from the Socialist-left, the extremists here at home and abroad, who attempt to subvert our policy in Vietnam and urge collaboration, coexistence, and compromise with the Communists. These are the Americans Thich spoke of when he said:

We will use the Americans to help us get rid of Americans.

I bring all this to the attention of the House for a single reason, Mr. Speaker.

What this man has done in the past is water over the dam. He should have been identified and quarantined years ago as an agent of the Vietcong, but we did not do it for reasons that are entirely beyond my understanding. Instead, we have aided and abetted him and given him sanctuary in our Embassy there. But, the past is past and there is no gain in digging up our mistakes in Vietnam and belaboring them.

What is important, however, is that this man is continuing his subversion on this very day. The recent strife in the streets of Da Nang, Hue, and Saigon are his handiwork; his contribution to the toppling of the Ky government. This man must be identified for what he is and brought under some sort of control.

If the Ky government is subverted and toppled as the Diem regime was, we will have one man to thank for it, Thich Tri Quang, and we will have allowed him to do it.

I intend to make available a copy of these remarks to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense as soon as I have finished and I intend to ask them for a report on Thich's activities as they view them. I believe the information I have given here is true in every detail and unless the Department of State and the Department of Defense can refute it, line by line, it will be incumbent upon the two Secretaries to explain to the American people why Thich Tri Quang is permitted to continue his subversion in Vietnam.

When I have had their replies, I will make them available to the Members.

**FEDERAL EXAMINERS SHOULD BE ASSIGNED TO SUNFLOWER COUNTY, MISS., BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on April 4 six Members of Congress joined in a letter to the Attorney General asking him to send Federal examiners to Sunflower County, Miss. So far he has refused. I include the text of the letter at this point in the RECORD:

HON. NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH,  
Attorney General, Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ATTORNEY GENERAL: We look forward to meeting with you on April 6 to discuss, among other topics, the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. We are very much concerned with the need for Federal examiners to register voters in Mississippi's Sunflower County.

According to the Department of Justice, 14 percent of the eligible Negro population of Sunflower County is currently registered as compared with 93 percent of the eligible white population.

At the present registration rate, it would require more than 8 years to register all of the eligible Negroes in Sunflower County—and more than 7 years to bring the percentage of registered Negroes up to the present percentage of registered whites.

Municipal elections in Sunflower County having been voided by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals because 306 newly registered Negroes were prevented from voting (*Hamer v. Campbell*, decided on Mar. 11, 1966) new municipal elections will be held in Sunflower County in the near future.

In *United States v. Campbell*, N.D. Miss., No. GC 633, April 8, 1965, the court held that Sunflower County had deliberately prevented Negroes from participating in the electoral process. It is clear that the Voting Rights Act is not having a significant effect on voter registration in Sunflower County.

As a result of the *Hamer* case, there will shortly be new elections in the county. It is imperative that the Department of Justice employ the full force of the Voting Rights Act, including Federal registrars immediately so that as many Negroes as possible are registered by the time those elections take place.

According to residents of Sunflower County, the presence of Federal registrars would

immeasurably aid registration. Negroes are still afraid to register. Unprotected they must go to a registration machinery controlled by local white officials. The psychological impact of Federal presence and observation in the county would be enormous. Moreover, mobile door-to-door registration as discussed by Chairman Macy in the Voting Rights Act hearings (pp. 316-317) might enable Southern States to meet the requirements of the 15th amendment once and for all.

The voting rolls in Sunflower County remain dramatically segregated. Unless the Federal Government intervenes and assigns voting registrars, they seem likely to remain segregated for many years.

We urge you to take this action now.  
With kindest regards,

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.,  
DON EDWARDS,  
DONALD M. FRASER,  
ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER,  
BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL,  
WILLIAM F. RYAN.

Mr. Speaker, the need for Federal examiners in hard-core southern rural counties is acute. It should not require more deaths and more violence for the U.S. Government to act.

Therefore, today on the floor of the House, I call for the Attorney General of the United States to send Federal examiners to Sunflower County, Miss.

The case for Federal registrars is irrefutable. Federal examiners have made great progress in the counties to which they have been assigned. Nowhere are they needed more urgently than in Sunflower County. And the Attorney General's power to send them there is absolutely clear.

I will be more specific.

**FEDERAL EXAMINERS ARE EFFECTIVE**

Mr. Speaker, Federal examiners are effective in the counties to which they have been assigned. The overall statistics for Mississippi are striking. At the end of December there were examiners in 18 counties in Mississippi. Presumably these counties were the hard core of resistance and voter intimidation. Yet by the end of December 43 percent of the Negroes in those 18 counties were registered. By contrast, only 15 percent of the Negroes in counties without Federal examiners were registered. It is even more revealing to compare the percentage increase of registered Negroes in counties with Federal examiners, with those which have none. Since the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Negro registration in counties with Federal examiners climbed by 38 percent, while registration in other Mississippi counties climbed by only 10 percent.

It is no coincidence that counties with Federal examiners have had success. In its October report on the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Civil Rights Commission noted that one strong deterrent to registration is "fear of physical violence and loss of employment because of registration activity." This fear has been built up for generations. Southern Negroes are not easily convinced that there is no longer any reason for them to be frightened. One important indication that the Federal Government will not let the State continue its past abuses is the presence of Federal examiners. Thus, Fed-

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

Maintaining a broad interfaith liaison, the school was dedicated on St. Valentine's Day, February 14, 1963, in the presence of His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, Rev. Gerald Vander Hart of the De Witt Reformed Church, Rabbi Dr. William Berkowitz of Temple B'nai Jeshurun, and the two Donovans, Dr. Bernard E. Donovan, present superintendent of the board of education, and James Donovan, the negotiator for the release of the Bay of Pigs prisoners, and a board of education president.

A unique event took place at the dedication exercises when two boys who never got their elementary school diplomas received them 60 years later when special diplomas were created for Smith and Dale, two theater greats who met there but who never had a chance to finish an elementary school.

Under the leadership of Aaron Fishman acting as the chairman of the Dedications Committee, the alumni were determined to make a show case of this school restored, and an object lesson of the original school where they had learned brotherhood and democracy. They commissioned the American artist Lumen Martin Winter to design a large mosaic mural which would tell the story of their immigrant forbears who began a wonderful era of rearing famous Americans. The marble walls were adorned with the legends of great Americans and uncannily on one wall there were joined Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy, even before the time when they would forever be coupled in history. The two legends read:

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it—

Abraham Lincoln, and—

And so, my fellow Americans ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

John F. Kennedy—coupled for the children to absorb daily. Exhibit cases show the achievements of such students as Benjamin and Jacob Javits, Harry Golden, Paul Muni, Edward G. Robinson, Irving Caesar, Ira and George Gershwin, Judge Samuel Liebowitz, the champion of the Scottsboro case.

The exhibit cases also contain a parchment bearing a dedicatory statement which any university would be proud of. Alumnus Harry Golden of "Only In America" fame and the biographer of Carl Sandburg had obtained it from him. Its text is a tribute to our youth today and reads:

The restless and venturing human spirit of youth may perform tomorrow with exploits today called visionary and impossible. What the young people want and dream across the next hundred years will shape history more than any other motivation to be named. The walls of this school might be slaying, "Youth when lighted and alive and given a sporting chance is strong for struggle and not afraid of any toils or punishments or dangers or deaths."—Carl Sandburg.

As an expression of esteem for retiring teachers who had given a lifetime of service to the boys and girls they had guided, the alumni created the "Our Teacher" medallion which they pre-

sented at a banquet. So that others could learn of the idea they communicated with alumnus Senator JACOB K. JAVITS who introduced a joint resolution whereby the President of the United States was requested to proclaim the fourth Wednesday in April as National Teachers Recognition Day.

An awards program was instituted under the format of "Time for Another Diploma" whereby at an annual reunion banquet a certificate of appreciation was presented to each of the members of each 50th anniversary class who were in attendance at the reunion. Few, if any, still had the original document.

Open house and an annual luncheon for the teachers of this day on Dedication Day broadened community interest and included a plaque award to community workers.

The alumni have acquired a treasury which provides scholarship aid on the referral of neighborhood settlement houses, bus trips to historic places, visits to the World's Fair, visits to the circus, theater and cinemas, student achievement prizes, and clothing needs.

Under the direction of principal Benjamin Falon and his aide Stanley Goldstein who is the alumni association president there has been established a buddy school relationship with the Fox Meadow School in Scarsdale for visits and reciprocal entertainments. At the neighborhood branch of the Bankers Trust Co., where alumnus Philip Greene is a vice president an international art show has been put on showing the art work of this school's children and that of the Ecole des Garcons, of Charenton, Paris, with whom a pen pal project has been developed. A naval cadet unit has been invited into the after-school program. With what pride they wear their uniforms. How proudly they bear the colors.

It was an impressive tradition that has been developed at the old school under the direction of the principals who had been appointed between 1897 and 1942; namely, H. William Smith, Dr. I. Edwin Goldwasser, William Kramer, Cornelius D. Fleming, James J. O'Reagan, George S. Kurke, Frank Reh, John J. Garvey. It was most adequately symbolized by its slogan "Per Aspera ad Astra"—despite adversity towards the stars. The alumni recall with great respect the hardworking immigrant boys from the Middle East who immediately after-school hours went to the neighborhood nickelodeons where they worked till midnight as candy butchers. They made it despite adversity and became successful merchants. The school's anthem "Ecce Quam Bonum" was the Latin translation of the psalm which said:

How good and how pleasing it is when brethren dwell together in unity.

Joseph Remey, of Polish extraction, and William T. Ryan, of Irish descent, were two graduating class teachers so beloved that many referred to Public School No. 20 as the Remey-Ryan Schoolhouse.

The old school had for many years implemented the Davis School State named for a school superintendent. It taught live civics when the children elected a governor, and judges, mayors,

and district attorneys for the upper grades and held court after school hours to try actual offenders and to acquaint the children with government in action.

The school sent a championship basketball team to the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. The student body produced a full-length opera "Van der Hum." In the traffic island of a nearby parkway the younger children were inspired by the principal D. I. Edwin Goldwasser to plant gardens. The university settlement across the street from the school was a cherished affiliate whose recreation facilities made it a vital part of school life as did Herman Brown's after school recreation and summer roof-garden programs in the school itself.

The climax of the alumni program has now been reached in the installation of the Hall of Fame plaque which reads:

This tablet, honoring those who have succeeded in their vocations and have served the community, is intended as an inspiration to future generations in knowing that they share a tradition with these alumni.

Listed in 17 categories are the following: In the judiciary are Samuel S. Liebowitz and Samuel J. Silverman of the New York State Supreme Court, Simon Silver of the criminal court, Max M. Meltzer, Philip Simon and Peter J. Abeles of the municipal court, and Robert Kleiner of the city court of Long Beach.

A miscellany of distinction is represented by engineer William Ginsberg, Col. Lewis Landes, architect Morris B. Adler, Rabbi William F. Rosenblum, account Irving Frankle, banker Philip Greene. Realtors who have done much to improve the appearance of New York are William Kaufman and Irving Maidman.

Among authors are Harry Golden, Simon Gould who was the oft repeated U.S. presidential nominee of the Vegetarian Party, and Aben Kandel. Social service is represented by the names of Dr. Louis A. Leventen and Irving Metz. Outstanding in various branches of government and listed under public service are U.S. Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, William B. Fischber, Alfred Grey, Irving W. Halpern, William A. Lesansky, George Levy, Spanish-American war veteran, sheriff and oldest living alumnus; Joseph Maged, Hyman A. Mintzer, Harris Perlis, Dewey Rothkrug, Joseph Schecter, Jacob L. Simberg, Joseph V. Spagna.

The law lists Aaron Fishman, M. Jason Gould, Irving H. Greenfield, Louis J. Merrell, Abraham Moscovitz, Anthony Romano, B. Leonard Slade, and Benjamin A. Javits who endowed the halls of law of Fordham University. Among the educators we have Charles H. Silver, a president of the board of education, Stanley Goldstein, Joseph Jablonow, L. Peter J. Massaro, Mordecai Soltes, Jack Zeppinick, Dr. Henry Semat and Dr. Elias Lieberman whose poem "I Am An American" inspired the creation of such a day celebrated every year in New York City.

Theater has on its list actor-producer Irving Jacobson, producer Ely A. Landau, actors Paul Muni and Edward G. Robinson. Music shows publisher Ben

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Bloom, lyricist Irving Caesar and his brother Arthur, concern pianist Herman Behrens, and George and Ira Gershwin.

Two business listings in particular represent boys who never forgot their East Side origin. Charles Guttman, president of the Paddington Corp. endowed an additional building for the Henry Street Settlement and Israel Cummings, president of Shamokin Mills endowed summer camps for the Educational Alliance. Other noteworthy businessmen are Charles Banks, Charles Blackman, Ralph D. Cole, James N. Feldman, Henry Firestone, Bernard W. Goldenberg, Louis Graff, David Hirsch, Jack Kamlet, William Lustgarten, Sanders A. Margulies, Abraham I. Meltzer, Charles Ornstein, Morris Rochman, Leon J. Rubenstein, Joseph H. Scharf, Irvine J. Schubert.

Medicine, dentistry and research yields the greatest number of candidates in Drs. Benjamin Apfelberg, Louis Finger, Osias E. Friedman, Herman I. Frosch, John Frosch, Abner M. Fuchs, Leon M. Gecker, Irwin Mason, Maxwell L. Gelfand, Benjamin Jablons, Henry Keil, Hyman Kosofsky, Charles Lerner, M. Murray Peshkin, Irving I. Reissman, Samuel M. Rothberg, Isidore M. Samuels, Nathan Savitsky, Abraham J. Schechter, Benjamin E. Scheiner, Nathan A. Shore, Alton A. Small, Entomologist Charles Pomerantz and Hospital Administrator Abraham Jahler.

Loyalty and nostalgia have gone hand in hand. The old school had been a shrine, an Eton among East Side schools. It is a mark distinction to have been a "twenty boy." It is worthy of mention that long after they moved away from their East Side neighborhood they retained an interest in the community although it had changed substantially. Once predominantly Jewish and Italian, it is now Spanish speaking, Albanian, Yugoslav, Chinese and Negro for the greatest part.

An editorial entitled "A Clue to Decency" that appeared in the New York Journal-American said:

They grew up in a neighborhood of immigrant parents huddled in tenements, and they rose above their environment. Perhaps the reason was summed up best by Charles H. Silver, former president of the board of education, an alumnus when he said, "Maybe we do not know all the answers to the problems of delinquency \* \* \* but we know that the regard we had for our teachers and the love we had for our parents made a great difference in our lives." We believe that a new generation can find inspiration in these words.

This is a great human interest story of a tradition that shaped lives importantly. It merits communication and the alumni of the Anna Silver Public School No. 20 are ready to put their ideas at the disposition of other schools of the Nation and invite communication.

#### VIETNAM UNREST FOMENTED BY COMMUNIST BUDDHIST

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, in recent days, I have tried to read every

news dispatch available to me on the civil unrest in Vietnam. I am sure most Members share my concern over the situation there. My particular attention has been focused for the appearance of the name, Thich Tri Quang because there has been no doubt in my mind even at a distance of 8,000 miles that the disturbance there has been fomented by him.

Though, as I say, I have tried to read every dispatch from Vietnam, it is only in the last day or two that casual, almost chance mentions of his name have begun to appear.

It is not particularly newsworthy that the Saigon press corps shows little favor for the U.S. policy in Vietnam. As Pulitzer Prize winning reporter and bureau chief Marguerite Higgins once reportedly said:

Reporters here [in Saigon] would like to see us lose the war to prove they're right.

This same group of newsmen, you will notice, seldom mention in their dispatches that the riots in the streets of Hue, Da Nang, and Saigon are made up almost entirely of children, ranging in age from 6 years to early teens.

At the time in 1963 when world attention was riveted on the horrifying scene of Buddhists setting fire to themselves in the streets in protest against the Diem regime, the Saigon press corps brainwashed the American people and the administration in Washington with the story that Buddhists made up the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese people.

The truth slowly rose to the surface only after Diem was overthrown and assassinated; the truth that Buddhists make up less than a third of the population. No searching investigation was made to identify the motives of the man who dominated the General Buddhist Association, the extremist rabble-rouser, Thich Tri Quang.

When we in the United States think of a Buddhist monk, I am sure we all conjure up the picture of a godly man robed in sackcloth going his way among the people to teach religious principles and dedication. And, of course, this is a true image. What, however, is the truth about Thich? Is he this kind of man? Or is he, instead, something entirely different? A diligent search of the record puts this man in clear focus and, Mr. Speaker, I think it is important that it be done.

In Joseph Alson's recent column "Ugly Business," there appeared this description of him and the unrest he has created in Vietnam:

One other set of facts to bear in mind concerns the root cause of the present troubles. In brief, the same American voices who are now most stridently bewailing these troubles were major contributors to this root cause. They played a larger role, indeed, than the intriguing, self-intoxicated Buddhist monk, Thich Tri Quang, with his highly probable links to the Vietcong.

These American voices it must be recalled, gladly, indeed proudly, assumed the peculiar role of chief propagandists for the opposition to the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem. It will come as a surprise to most of the owners of these voices, for most of them have little Asian experience.

The Alsop column continued with this observation:

At the end, poor Diem was past rescuing, because of the mounting pressures of the general situation, and also because of those pressures' unfortunate effects on the President's all-powerful brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu. But an appropriate commentary on the fall of Diem was nonetheless supplied by the veteran Communist observer, Wilfred Burchett, who called Diem the "one strong nationalist leader" in Vietnam."

To those who still remember the violent overthrow and assassination of Dgo Dinh Diem when he headed the Government in South Vietnam, Thich's name will be familiar. He is the pseudo-Buddhist who organized the revolt which resulted in the coup. When asked about his part in the affair, he made no pretense that the campaign was without political motivations and he is quoted as saying:

Don't you think it will help our cause if some of us are killed?

This was the callous retort of the man who urged other monks to immolate themselves in a fiery death as a political protest. The question needs to be answered, Mr. Speaker, whether this is the attitude of a true Buddhist or a political demagog. In my mind, his political activity to undermine the pro-American governments of South Vietnam cannot be squared with the five moral rules of conduct laid down by Buddha: let no one kill any living thing; take not anything that is not given to you; speak not falsely; do not drink intoxicating beverages; be chaste.

Let us look at Thich's record and determine if he is a man of God or, in fact, a conscious agent of the Vietcong.

According to the records of the French colonial office, Thich Tri Quang was twice arrested for his dealings with Ho Chi Minh. He has admitted himself that he served after 1945 with Communist front groups working with Ho's Vietcong army.

Our own Embassy in Saigon has had this to say about him:

Tri Quang himself has said that he acceded to Viet Minh invitations to collaborate with them in the 1940's and that in response to their demands he served as chairman of the United Vietnamese Association which was controlled by the Viet Minh and was located near his home village in Quang Binh province.

Thich Tri Quang also for a time led a Communist-front Buddhist organization collaborating with Ho Chi Minh.

According to the French, who still have representatives at Hanoi, Thich's brother is currently working for Ho Chi Minh in the Communist Vietnam's Ministry of the Interior. It is significant, Mr. Speaker, that the duties of Thich's brother include the direction of subversion in South Vietnam.

Thich is a disciple of Thich Tri Do who is now in Communist North Vietnam as leader of the Buddhist puppet organization there. And on at least one occasion, Thich has made the statement that, in his opinion, communism is entirely compatible with Buddhism.

This, Mr. Speaker, is the man who is, at the moment, busily stirring up unrest

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ily for plant expansion and for development of new processes. When, on the other hand, a few beleaguered social reformers suggested that decent wages be paid to workers and working conditions be improved, the industrial tycoons were aghast. "Where's the money to come from?" they asked. "You can see that we can't afford that."

Some of the people who predicted national bankruptcy when Franklin Roosevelt proposed an annual budget of \$15 billion are still predicting doom in the face of Lyndon Johnson's \$110 billion budget. Meanwhile the gross national product continues its fantastic growth. This is certainly not to say that there isn't a limit. Fiscal prudence is surely a virtue and in a budget the size of our national budget, there is bound to be great waste. But prudence, fiscal or otherwise, is a lower order of virtue than charity. And if, as we always do, we are able to find the money to fight wars consonant with our national purpose, we can find the money to provide decent living conditions for all our people.

Along the same lines and in the name of fiscal prudence, the General Accounting Office, watchdog of the Federal budget, has recently issued a 56-page report denouncing the Public Housing Authority for, among other things, permitting balconies on several recent housing projects in Washington. The GAO has also strongly criticized such "extravagances" as "outside ornamentation, unusual design for building walls, ornamental walls and planter curbs and community facilities."

In fairness to the General Accounting Office, the agency was even more scathing in its criticism of the \$96 million House of Representatives Office Building, the most costly building in the history of the world. Needless to say, however, its criticism of the latter will fall on deaf ears while its criticism of the Public Housing Authority has already been headlined gleefully in the "poor we shall always have with us" press.

One commentator noted that the restrictions imposed on such extravagances are "based on the assumption that the poor deserve only minimum accommodations, presumably to punish them for their poverty."

Practically, these economies are illusory because the projects are so ugly and institutional-looking that many cities refuse to vote bond issues to meet their share of the cost.

But that's what comes from allocating public funds in the spirit of the tourist who tosses coins to the native divers.

### **Rollcalls During Leave of Absence**

#### **EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF**

**HON. HERBERT TENZER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 23, 1966

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on April 4, 1966, by unanimous consent of my colleagues in the House, I was granted a leave of absence for April 4, 5, and 6, 1966, for observance of the Jewish holiday of Passover—Festival of Freedom.

Accordingly, I was unable to be present during the vote on the Federal Salary and Fringe Benefits Act of 1966, on Wednesday, April 6, 1966. Had I been present, I would have voted yea, and I was pleased that the act was passed by the House by the overwhelming vote of 393 to 1.

I have supported efforts during both the 1st and 2d sessions of the 89th Congress, to achieve comparability in wages for Federal employees and while this principle still has not been achieved, it is my hope that Congress will be able to take greater strides in this direction during the remainder of this session and in the next Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to record my views on the other items of legislation approved by the House on April 6, 1966. By a vote of 387 to 0, the House extended through May 31, 1966, the initial period for enrolling under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged. More than 86 percent of our senior citizens have signed up for the medicare program which acknowledges that only by getting the necessary facts to the people can we achieve a response such as this. The bill as passed will give the Social Security Administration 2 additional months to reach the remaining 14 percent of the elderly who have not yet signed up. Some because they have not been reached and others because they have been given incorrect information about medicare. It would have provided me a great pleasure to have voted "yea" with my colleagues on rollcall 58, had I been present.

The other items passed by the House on April 6, 1966, were H.R. 14215, relating to appropriations for the Department of Interior and related agencies, and H.R. 14266, relating to appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967. I would have voted "yea" on both appropriation measures; however, I would have supported the motions to recommit these measures with instructions to insert a provision that expenditure shall be limited to 95 percent of the total net expenditures estimated in the budget for these purposes in 1967.

I would have voted "yea" on the motions to recommit because I believe that it would not be unreasonable to ask these departments and agencies to cut their budgets by 5 percent. The areas where the cuts would be made would have been left to be decided by the departments and agencies involved. In the event that circumstances rendered it impossible for the agency to meet the mandate of the Congress, it is always possible for the agency to return with a request for a supplemental appropriation.

The present economic situation justifies such action and I believe Congress should scrutinize appropriations measures as closely as possible so that we can channel Government expenditures into those areas which require the highest priority. This can be done without abandoning any of our commitments abroad and our obligations at home. Five percent is a small percentage—a good, hard look at our expenditures—running a "tight ship" while we initiate programs which are designed to benefit all the people—could produce the desired results.

I firmly believe that our President is as much against waste and mismanagement as any Member of Congress and any citizen of these United States. He

has asked agency heads and Government departments to cut costs. The Congress could have helped carry this forward.

### **Saigon Dock Snarl**

#### **EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF**

**HON. DONALD RUMSFELD**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, following is an article by the nationally syndicated columnist, Mr. Victor Riesel, which discusses the Saigon dock snarl.

As a member of the House Subcommittee on Government Information and Foreign Operations, I have been most interested in the problems described in this column, and call them to the attention of the Members.

Mr. Riesel's article follows:

#### **THE SAIGON DOCK SNARL**

WASHINGTON.—Four ace longshoremen, who can unsnarl and outsmart anything and anybody when need be, have been in Saigon for 3 months trying to unchoke that port of entry for soldiers, gun, and food.

Now they are looking homeward. They want out, though they pledged themselves to stay for at least 6 months.

It is not the heat. It's the heat they just could not generate to move the Vietnamese portside bureaucracy, to melt the glut, to unravel the redtape, to wipe out tens of millions of dollars worth of black market pilferage.

They are saying to their longshoremen's union, which dispatched them there: One does not have to be a hawk or a dove to loathe vultures.

Word of their sentiment, and reports from National Maritime Union (NMU) Vice President Mel Barisic that some 40 percent of American AID cargo is speeding into the Vietnamese black market, has angered some pro-business Congressmen.

It should. If the labor leaders' estimates are correct—and they know a dock problem when they smell one from near or far—at least \$120 million of some \$300 million worth of aid is being stolen.

One investigator, whose men have interviewed the New York longshoremen and maritime union leaders, was aghast over the discovery that the General Accounting Office (GAO) of our Government has not had a "physical presence" in Vietnam in almost 3 years.

Yet almost \$1 billion worth of civilian aid has been shipped over.

The congressional probers are led by Representative JOHN MOSS, who has had long conferences with the GAO directors. It is their job to make certain that every Federal dollar spent gets audited.

Actually, the billion dollars which have gone to Vietnam have gotten only a light once-over. No "Inspector General" of AID, which authorizes the shipments, has been in Vietnam "in 15 months," Representative Moss told this columnist.

There will be a permanent GAO headquarters in Saigon from now on, Mr. Moss was assured. But he and some of his colleagues want to see for themselves what's happening to the huge tonnage of costly civilian goods.

The special congressional squad will fly to Vietnam shortly to ask why the United States is fighting on two fronts—the military and the black market.

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

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## Respect for the American Flag

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced a bill to make it a criminal offense, punishable by a fine up to \$10,000 or imprisonment up to 5 years, to publicly desecrate the flag of the United States at any place.

You will recall that I stated in a speech on the House floor that my action followed a recent shameful incident in my district which resulted in the public and deliberate desecration of the American flag.

When I returned to my office, I found on my desk a copy of the Cordele Dispatch, the daily newspaper from the city where demonstrators pulled down the flags of the United States and the State of Georgia and made a public display of tearing them.

I found in that newspaper a column by E. W. "Sassyfrass" Mathews, one of the most respected editors in the Second District of Georgia. In a cogent manner, Mr. Mathews describes his respect for the American flag, the shameful desecration of that symbol of freedom, and the need for making such action a first-class Federal offense. I would like to share his column with my colleagues:

## E. W. "SASSYFRASS" MATHEWS SAYS

This writer can remember as a child how he was taught, both at school, at church, and at home to respect the American flag and the many things it stood for.

He can remember how, during World War I, men from all parts of the United States bled and died for the principles of democracy.

He can remember World War II, the Korean conflict (as it was termed by Mr. Truman) too—not to mention the present unpleasantness in Vietnam today—when his own sons and the sons of many friends went away to war to defend the flag of these United States—the very symbol of freedom throughout the world.

On Thursday afternoon, in front of the Crisp County Courthouse, in full view of Cordele police officers, deputy sheriffs, and so we understand at least one agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the desecration of the U.S. flag by a bunch of hoodlums, under the guise of civil rights, took place.

When a country, and its people are forced to put up with the burning of draft cards by a bunch of fly-livered, acts of violence, civil disobedience and desecration of the American flag, then that country is really in a serious state of affairs.

Desecration of the flag is only a misdemeanor under Georgia law. It should be a first-class Federal offense, although we understand there is no such law on the pages of the FBI manual.

The perpetrators of this desecration of the American flag should be apprehended—even if it costs millions of dollars such as spent in Mississippi and Alabama to bring similar culprits to the bar of justice.

We further believe that it is time for the Johnson administration to take some positive action toward sparing peaceful cities and counties from such disgraceful and communistic actions as those perpetrated here this week.

It is illegal for students to be out of school, it is illegal to desecrate the flags of the United States of America, the great sovereign State of Georgia, and it is illegal to destroy public or personal property, so says the laws of these United States.

It is time we in Crisp County started arrest proceedings against students absent from classrooms—as well as their parents—and carry the proceedings through to the full extent of the courts.

It is time some of our school officials refrain from using the TV, the radio, and out-of-town newspapers to make statements pertaining to what is happening in Crisp County, and took legal action (as the law provides) against such actions, instead of lengthy explanations through the aforementioned news media.

It is time to call the Justice Department into Cordele and Crisp County, so that we as citizens may learn from that branch of the Federal Government if we have any rights, or if we are a communistic state without knowledge of the change in government.

## The Guessing Game

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the guessing game of whether or not there will be an increase in taxes has now become one of how big the increase will be.

Of course, many of us would prefer that there would be no increase at all, and we have suggested that Federal spending be cut instead.

These are my feelings and also those expressed in an editorial in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, which I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Johnson City (Tenn.) Press-Chronicle, Apr. 5, 1966]

## THE TAX JUNGLE

Inexorably, that April 15 deadline creepeth up.

And the struggle with the 1040's grows more fitful.

Moreover, suffering taxpayers have hanging over their heads the possibility of a further blow. Hardly a day passes that some Federal official, from the President down, doesn't say a tax increase is likely.

Then, beginning May 1, the system of withholding is going to change. It's supposed to make a fellow's books balance better at the end of the year, but right now it just adds to the general confusion.

Whether the President will go through with the rate increase is an interesting question. He is reluctant to do so because it is an election year, and Congressmen running for re-election always make handy targets for frustrated voters. It happens that most of these Congressmen belong to the President's party.

Timely tax cuts in 1964 and 1965 clearly spurred the current economic expansion, thus validating one thesis of the "new economics." It remains in the realm of theory whether a timely and moderate tax increase can dispel the present inflationary fever without chilling the boom entirely.

Amid the signs of spring, however, there are few indications that the heated-up economy will simmer down of its own accord. There are many indications that the temperature is not only going higher but going higher faster.

Since only a few in Congress dare to talk about cutbacks in Federal spending, and since wage and price controls appear to be out of the question at this time, an across-the-board tax hike begins to loom as inevitable sooner or later. Given the choice, most taxpayers surely would prefer a Federal spending cut instead.

## The Examined Life

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, in the press and on the air there has been much criticism of the administration's request for funds to implement various Great Society programs. These dissenters claim that with a conflict in Vietnam demanding our resources, efforts to improve living conditions for the poverty stricken and underprivileged in our country should be left by the wayside.

It is paradoxical that public funds for the military are easily appropriated, but public funds for the disadvantaged are begrudgingly spent.

An article which appeared in the April issue of U.S. Catholic appraises our current standards for spending and looks searching into our moral attitudes.

For the benefit of those who may have missed reading this article, I am including it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

## THE EXAMINED LIFE—ONE WAY OF LOOKING AT EVERYDAY MANNERS AND MORALS

Although opinions are sharply divided concerning our future policy in Vietnam, hardly any American disputes the multibillion expenditure to carry on the war there. Some, of course, grumble at the size of our national budget but even these would not want lives to be lost or the pursuit of military aims to be frustrated for lack of the arms or supplies needed.

Understandably but still, ironically, we can always seem to find the money when our national security is threatened, yet we gasp when a President asks even a tenth of our military budget to combat disease, water and air pollution, the strangulation of cities due to inadequate mass transportation and even (or should I say, especially) the steady disintegration of people trapped for generation after generation in a poverty culture.

Congressmen who wouldn't dare raise even an eyebrow in opposition to the appropriations demanded by the military engage in shameless demagoguery and conscienceless log rolling when multibillion-dollar programs to raise the living standards of the less fortunate in this country are suggested. The many citizens who are doctrinaire in espousing a balanced Federal budget and those with anger when a really substantial program for social welfare is budgeted, sensibly but inconsistently have no difficulty in supporting deficit financial appropriations for pursuing the war in Vietnam and for military preparedness.

There is a parallel in business conduct of the industrial barons who reigned in the early years of this century. Recognizing that industrial expansion in a capitalist society is possible only if abundant borrowed capital is used (deficit financing, if you will) they didn't hesitate for a moment to borrow heav-

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Who sells us short? Who are the black marketeers? Why is there no commodity control system?

There certainly is a congressional storm brewing, Representative PAUL FINO writes: "You are correct in saying that our Vietnamese allies are ridden with graft and corruption. Black market dollars are bankrolling the Vietcong."

Senators have heard that, despite reports of speedier unloading in Saigon and other Vietnam ports, there still are scores of ships so backlogged through inefficient and sometimes deliberately stalled unloading by local workers that the United States is losing \$1 million daily in stalled vessels.

There will be louder protests from inside labor, too. NMU leader Joe Curran, his executive assistant William Perry, and Vice President Barisic are flying over to see what can be done for their hundreds of seamen immobilized aboard the idle ships awaiting a turn at a harbor berth.

When all the grim reports are in, the noise will be sufficiently loud to drown out the roar of guns over there. Perhaps, then, some of those in Saigon will realize that some of us here know there is a war on.

### Albert Einstein

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 14, 1966, at ceremonies in Princeton, N.J., a commemorative stamp was issued in honor of Albert Einstein.

One of the speakers at this ceremony was my good friend and colleague, the Honorable FRANK THOMPSON, JR., Fourth District, New Jersey. When I came to Congress in 1959, Congressman THOMPSON was most kind and considerate in every way. I greatly appreciate his guidance and cherish his friendship.

I commend his excellent remarks, which follow, to the attention of my colleagues.

REMARKS OF HONORABLE FRANK THOMPSON, JR., DEMOCRAT, OF NEW JERSEY, AT CEREMONY AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY TO COMMEMORATE ISSUANCE OF THE STAMP TO HONOR ALBERT EINSTEIN, MONDAY, MARCH 14, 1966

I am not going to talk to you this morning about Einstein the physicist: I am no more able to add to what Professor Oppenheimer has said on that subject than any of the thousands who waited for 4 hours for the SS *Rotterdam* on the day 45 years ago when he first arrived in New York, and who lined Second Avenue for 2 miles just to see him and cheer.

I am not going to talk to you about him as a man I knew: I only met him once, nearly 20 years ago, while a few of you here today were his friends, and many of you remember him during the years at Princeton, sailing on Carnegie Lake or walking from Mercer Street to Fuld Hall.

I only want to say one thing this morning about the uniqueness of Einstein, and it is not a personal thing: it's not about what he meant to his fellow scientists or what he meant to the friends and disciples who loved him: it's about what he meant to those who didn't understand his work and who didn't know him, but to whom his name was as familiar as an 8-cent stamp—because that is the most important reason for commemo-

rating him in this way—to try to keep alive a little of the inspiration that the idea of Einstein was to the rest of us.

The idea of Einstein that was born in the public imagination in the years after the experiment at Principe, delivered by the enthusiastic midwifery of the uninhibited press of the 1920's, was not originally the idea of Einstein the Zionist, although his importance to the movement as a symbol of the best in Jewish culture contributed to his public following: It was not originally the idea of Einstein the German speaking out against militarism and dictatorship, although this element grew during the years when he was a prime target of Nazi invective, and was evident, too, in the years after the First War when his first visits to London and Paris took place in an atmosphere of tension which was invariably dissolved by his presence: It was not originally the idea of Einstein the apostle of peace and the league, although this image grew stronger as he spoke out with increasing urgency against the tragedy of the nuclear arms race. All these causes drew strength from his name, but the power of his name and of the idea of Einstein had more mysterious origins than any of these.

I spent some time one afternoon last week trying to recapture that idea—an effort of imagination and retrospection, because today there is nothing comparable to that phenomenon of sudden, worldwide notoriety being won by the father of an idea not only incomprehensible to all but a few but without even any foreseeable practical consequences. As I thought about this paradox, I sent for the New York Times for April 1921, and read through the accounts of Einstein's first tour here with Chaim Weizmann. As I read the paradox seemed to be confirmed: It was precisely the incomprehensibility of Einstein that captured the imagination; everywhere during those public appearance he was badgered by reporters and by eager questioners in packed lay audiences for a statement of his theory, and everywhere the more delphic his replies, the more delighted were his listeners.

The spectacle of Einstein as one of the earliest crazes of the 1920's has its ludicrous side: There was no one to whom it seemed more ludicrous than to Einstein himself. Although with his perfect gentleness, he played the part of the mystic on these occasions with an indulgent gusto, especially when the act brought contributions to his beloved Weizmann and the Palestine Foundation Fund. But I prefer to think of the phenomenon in a different way: for millions of people whose minds were virgin in terms of abstract thought—unawakened—the idea of Einstein was the most vivid intimation in their lives of the scope and power of the human mind; for millions of people whose acceptance of the world around them was amorphous and unquestioning, the idea of Einstein was an intimation of an order and a vaster reality of which they could otherwise have had no glimpse. The innocent incomprehension of those millions as they listened to him and read about him and talked about him was neither ludicrous nor vulgar: It was as though an audience hopelessly blind from birth listened to one who could see describing the beauty of the world. Not even knowing what it was to see the sort of reality that Einstein saw, people were nevertheless given hope and pride in humanity by the idea of him.

This is the paradox of Einstein the public figure: his memory will not fade among his fellow scientists—he has left them memorials enough; but his public memory will fade, and with it his unique inspiration: we welcome this fittingly beautiful stamp because it will contribute to keeping alive that memory and inspiration. That disquieting inspiration is well conveyed in the closing lines of a poem Archibald MacLeish wrote

on Einstein in 1927: I should like to close with those lines this morning.

"Like a foam  
His flesh is withered and his shriveling  
And ashy bones are shattered on the dark.  
But still the dark denies him. Still with-  
stands  
The dust his penetration and flings back  
Himself to answer him.  
Which seems to keep something inviolate.  
A living something."

### Humane Course

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia Inquirer has stated editorially that:

The quick action by President Johnson to get an extension of the medicare deadline was, in our estimation, the only fair and humane course to take.

The paper points out:

There is still the possibility that substantial numbers of the elderly are in danger of being left out of full medicare coverage merely because they failed to understand the law or because they are out of touch with the everyday life of the community.

The editorial on this timely subject will be of interest to my colleagues and with this in mind I offer it in its entirety for inclusion in the RECORD.

#### EXTEND THE MEDICARE SIGNUP DEADLINE

The quick action by President Johnson to get an extension of the medicare deadline was, in our estimation, the only fair and humane course to take. There is still the possibility that substantial numbers of the elderly are in danger of being left out of full medicare coverage merely because they failed to understand the law or because they are out of touch with the everyday life of the community.

It must be remembered that many of the elderly do lead isolated lives, even in crowded neighborhoods. The almost overpowering inclination to retreat within themselves, to become hermits, so to speak, existing apart from active people, is one of the tragic aspects of old age which medicare is, in fact, designed to offset.

The vast majority of persons whose 65th birthdays occurred before January 1 have signed up. But of those who haven't, it is thought that about a million across the Nation are confused, misinformed, or not informed at all about the opportunity they are missing. An exhaustive search has been made, but not all the obscure possibilities have been covered.

Meanwhile, it should be understood that those who have reached 65 after January 1 can sign up any time for 3 months after their birthday month. Anybody in this group who has not signed up should do it at once. And those who are approaching 65 should understand that they can sign up any time during a 7-month period starting 3 months before their birthday month and lasting 3 months afterwards.

The Thursday, March 31, deadline applied only to those who became 65 before January 1 and for the medical insurance portion of the medicare program. This covers 80 percent of doctors' bills, with a \$50 deductible provision. Persons over 65 pay a \$3

monthly premium which is matched by the Government. Coverage for hospitalization is automatic so there is no signup deadline.

**Watershed Planning Funds Should Be Released**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.**

OF INDIANA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, Congress acted wisely 2 years ago in creating the watershed protection program to preserve and develop this Nation's natural resources.

In my opinion, however, the entire watershed program has been seriously jeopardized by recent action of the Bureau of the Budget in limiting to 100 the number of projects to be funded with the \$5.7 million approved last year for this purpose by Congress.

I therefore am introducing today a resolution requiring the Budget Bureau to fulfill the intent of Congress by releasing all funds allocated for watershed project planning this fiscal year, ending June 30.

Since its establishment in 1954, the watershed protection program has relied upon local initiative to stimulate cooperative local, State and Federal planning and financing.

My home State of Indiana has been particularly diligent in this respect. As a matter of fact, eventual local and State money devoted to watershed projects in Indiana will total about \$51 million. This figure is just \$15 million short of equaling the Federal Government's share.

The accomplishments of these programs are widely known, but bear repeating.

Watershed programs help save lives and property that otherwise would be destroyed by floods.

They provide much needed recreational facilities for a constantly increasing population and help develop fish and wildlife habitats.

They serve to enlarge municipal water supplies.

They store irrigation water and thereby make significant contributions to our agricultural economy.

Now, however, these valuable and beneficial achievements are being threatened with severe curtailment by the Budget Bureau.

At the present time, 28 watershed projects in 18 States are ready for planning authorization. Another 18 projects will be ready in the next few weeks.

Of these 46 projects, 3 are located in Indiana, all of them in the Ninth Congressional District which is being so ably served by my distinguished colleague, LEE HAMILTON.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] knows firsthand how vital these watershed projects are to the people of his district, my State and our Nation.

I share his dismay at action by the Budget Bureau which would mean that only 10 of 46 watershed projects will be authorized to proceed with planning funds.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] recently introduced a joint resolution which would remove the planning limitation imposed by the Bureau of the Budget. It would permit those programs ready for planning authorization to move ahead.

I agree this limitation should be lifted and am today introducing an identical resolution in hopes that Congress will see fit to insure that its intent with respect to watershed programs is honored.

**Visa to All Outdoors**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR**

OF PENNSYLVANIA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in its report on the Department of the Interior and related agencies appropriation bill, the House Committee on Appropriations stipulated that it expects the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to be more aggressive in encouraging the general public to support the recreational programs established under the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

I fully subscribe to this recommendation, but I also feel that Members of Congress themselves have an obligation to utilize the facilities of their own offices in giving attention to these projects. In doing so, we will not only open new vistas to families and individuals who are not aware of the excellent recreation spots already available on Government lands, but also make possible the development of new areas as a consequence of the increased interest on the part of our people.

Specifically, the committee wants to step up by manifold the sale and use of Federal recreation area entrance permits. While day use and temporary permits may be obtained by infrequent users of public sites, there are maximum advantages for everyone who purchases the annual permit at \$7 per car, or per person for those 16 years of age and over. Designated "Operation Golden Eagle," it has been described by American Forests magazine as the "visa to all outdoors." These cards, which will serve as passkeys to more than 7,000 Government recreation areas for an unlimited number of times between April 1, 1966, and March 31, 1967, may be purchased through the American Automobile Association at the entry point of Federal recreation installations, or by mail at the Bureau of Recreation, box 7763, Washington, D.C., 20024.

The outstanding feature of this program is that receipts are earmarked for the recreation facilities so badly needed in this growing country. Sixty percent of the total income goes for improving

recreational areas in the States, and the remainder is used to expand Federal recreation programs. So far as I am concerned, no more efficient and effective pay-as-you-go method of operation has ever been devised.

The Committee on Appropriations also directed the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and other agencies to work out arrangements between the Land and Water Conservation Fund program and others enacted by Congress to provide financial assistance for recreation. In referring expressly to the Appalachian Regional Development Act, the committee points up a cooperative effort which can be of monumental value in helping to enhance the year-around recreational advantages of Pennsylvania. The natural resources and human resources of our State were largely instrumental in expediting the transformation of a young nation into the world's greatest agricultural and industrial power, and now we offer the facilities needed for physical, mental, and moral relaxation and stimulation.

The golden eagle permit is a guide to healthful living, and all Americans should go all out for this ticket to all outdoors.

**General Accounting Office**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. DONALD RUMSFELD**

OF ILLINOIS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, since its creation in 1921 the General Accounting Office has served this Nation ably and well as the watchdog of the Treasury.

I submit for the RECORD the following editorial from the April 1, 1966 editions of the Chicago Sun-Times:

SAVED \$186,780,000

The annual report of the General Accounting Office for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, has been published. Once again the GAO has saved the taxpayers a great sum of money. Through refunds, collections, and other measurable benefits, the saving was \$186,780,000 for fiscal 1965. The GAO modestly points out that in addition "many significant financial benefits" were realized that could not be easily measured.

We have called attention to the GAO's work on numerous occasions, usually when one of its reports points up a particularly dramatic case of waste. But much of the GAO's work is routine, pick-and-shovel labor. Each year it sifts through millions of bills of lading and transportation requests; makes thousands of legal decisions and settles many thousands of claims, both for and against the United States. It makes hundreds of audit reports to the Congress and testifies before congressional committees as part of its work.

The GAO was created by Congress as a non-political, nonpartisan agency to act in the behalf of Congress in examining the manner in which Government agencies discharge their financial responsibilities. It has, by and large, done splendid work. This year, as has become its habit, the GAO spent less money to operate than was appropriated, about \$1,300,000 less. It continued to cut back on its employment. Over the past 10

6. Subsidized lines serving essential trade routes have fallen back on foreign ships because so many of theirs had been taken over for Vietnam. In the 6-month period from July 1 to December 31, 1965, about \$16,500,000 worth of business normally carried by these American-flag berth line operators had been turned over to foreign ships because there weren't enough American bottoms on these commercial trade routes.

7. Crews aboard several foreign ships chartered to carry strategic supplies to South Vietnam balked at going there, and the supplies were held up until American ships could be substituted.

8. By December 27, 1965, the demand for both U.S.-flag and foreign ships had conservatively driven the charter market for time charter vessels of one or two voyages upward by more than 25 percent over the previous year and similarly increased the used ship sales prices. The escalation continued to spiral into 1966.

#### SHIPPING NIGHTMARE

During the first 7 months after President Johnson last July made the initial announcement of a stepup in U.S. participation in Vietnam, the shipping situation could best be described as a nightmare. This was due to an obvious lack of planning and coordination. Inadequate pier space and warehousing, plus the lack of basic stevedore equipment for cargo handling, were cited as partly to blame for the congestion.

The International Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO) paid expenses and salaries for four of its top men to go to Vietnam as advisers and remain until the crisis was past. Thomas W. Gleason, ILA president, who made two survey trips at the request of the Government, testified before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee that he had been told by U.S. Oversea Mission officials that the lack of funds was the reason there was no cargo-handling equipment on hand in the South Vietnamese ports to facilitate the discharging of ships and eliminate the backlog which, at one point, was in excess of 200 vessels, including military, commercial and those bearing aid cargoes.

Finally, in February, the equipment was brought in from the Philippines, Japan and the United States. By the end of February, the jamup of ships was sharply reduced, with 81 reported waiting to be discharged.

During the current good weather season, all-out efforts are being made to get the cargo handling completely caught up. If it is not done then, some officials fear that semblances of the nightmare might return by June when more supplies will be pouring into the area and the monsoons arrive.

#### CONTAINERSHIPS?

Meanwhile, the Navy Department is exploring the feasibility of using containerships for Vietnam to further expedite the unloading. Gleason had pointed out that the containers could serve as their own warehouses and, if made out of plywood, could later be used for building materials. The containers could be discharged much faster from a regular containership. In fact, it is said that under ideal conditions, a containership can discharge as much cargo in 8 hours as a conventional ship can in 4 days.

However, here again the status of the merchant marine reveals a dearth of containerships. Those which are available all have been converted from World War II-built vessels. They, too, are approaching the rust-bucket stage and would not be useful in another emergency because their time—like most of the present-day American merchant marine—is running out.

## Citizen Participation in Potomac Planning

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 5, 1966

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the active participation of local officials and interested citizens is essential to the success of any comprehensive plan for the Potomac River Basin. Citizen action, in fact, is an essential element in the planning itself, for many aspects of Potomac conservation and development must be explored, defined and implemented by the people who live, work, and pay taxes in this mighty basin.

Last week communication among Federal and State officials, local officials, and interested groups and individuals was greatly advanced during two very successful day-long citizens' workshops on Potomac Basin planning, held under the auspices of the Conservation Foundation. The first, held at Hagerstown on March 31, focused on the western Maryland and Pennsylvania portions of the basin. The second, at Cacapon State Park in West Virginia, was devoted primarily to that segment of the region. Both workshops prompted lively discussion of plans and alternatives, and spurred citizens to consider ways to organize their efforts toward their common goals.

The possibilities for citizens organizations were outlined at both workshops by Mr. Sydney Howe of the Conservation Foundation. Because his address presents clearly the alternative paths for civic action, and summarizes the experience gained in other river basins, I bring his remarks to the attention of the Congress.

#### CIVIC ACTION IN RIVER BASINS

(By Sydney Howe, the Conservation Foundation at Citizens' Workshops on Potomac Basin Planning, Hagerstown, Md., March 31, 1966, and Cacapon State Park, W. Va., April 1, 1966)

This basin certainly has had its share of attention from Government planners. And I don't think it takes any crystal balling at all to suggest that the actions of Government on the Potomac are going to increase markedly.

Both the Federal and State representatives involved in the present Potomac planning acknowledge that their most important challenge is to come up with a method of administering the basin's water and related land resources in which all the governments concerned are appropriately represented. I strongly suspect that by the end of this year we will see at least one proposal for some kind of river basin agency and that the legislation to create it will appear in Congress and before State legislatures in 1967.

A new Potomac Basin organization is apt to have authority to administer functions which now are handled separately by Federal, State, and local governments. The question I'd like to discuss with you today

is "Do we have now in this basin adequate civic participation in planning and management of river resources to permit such an interstate agency to function as it should in a democratic society?"

River basin planners and managers have problems, and they face issues, that are very difficult to treat without a tangible public constituency with which to consult. To be sure, it is their responsibility, to some extent, to cultivate that constituency and help it function. But, at the same time, Government officials can hardly be blamed if the people they want to serve are neither interested in becoming involved nor organized to do so.

Let's take a look at what we have now in this valley in the way of civic involvement in the management of water and related land resources. While there are some hard-working organizations, I think it is fair to observe that, in general, we, the public, have concerned ourselves with our river (a) when a catastrophe made it obvious that something had to be done, or (b) when our water-related needs or pleasures were challenged or presented with a special opportunity. There have been exceptions, to be sure, but extensive discussions of our river resources have arisen mainly when a flood, a drought, or some controversial project made water the first thing to talk about in a street-side conversation. And the communications media have responded accordingly.

There has, on the other hand, been appreciable participation in river basin matters from time to time by specific groups interested in certain water-related values. Private organizations have taken exceeding interest in such subjects as fish and game, flood control, conservation of small watersheds, pollution control, recreation and aesthetics, industrial and municipal water supplies, navigation, hydroelectric power, agriculture, and others. Their activities have certainly, in the main, been beneficial. A number of the groups organized for these purposes include persons who improve communications with other groups. For example, the industrialist who belongs to a sportsmen's club may broaden the understanding of both manufacturers and outdoorsmen concerning water pollution. Many of these organizations have kept public officials aware of their respective interests in a most effective and desirable way.

But there has been evidence that private organizations can pull together or fall apart around certain issues. They have had, and continue to have, their squabbles. Perhaps they always will. By the same token, they will always have something very much in common—the Potomac River Basin. As Government increases its role in management of the river, there will be more and more policy issues and administrative decisions on which private units, operating individually, will find themselves unable to conduct objective and technically competent reviews. I submit that it is now time to consider what can and should be done to bring the civic leadership of this basin into a balanced and complementary relationship with Government.

Let's look for a moment at what citizens have done in some other basins. In taking this look it is important to recognize that a civic organization can be good, bad, or indifferent. It can be the abject servant of a few Government agencies or private interests or it can be a sensitive and responsive forum in which river basin policies are tested and continually reviewed, and where in fact, a good deal of public policy originates.

I think it would be best not to describe the specific organizations of other river

in the April 1966 issue of the Navy magazine, the official organ of the Navy League of the United States. This article points out many of the serious problems facing our merchant marine in supporting the defense effort in Vietnam. Under unanimous consent I insert the article in the RECORD for the information of Members of Congress:

#### OUR AGING MERCHANTMEN AND VIETNAM

(By Helen Deilich Bentley)

Supplies are being transported to American troops in Vietnam via a pipeline of rustbuckets.

Although this may seem a rather harsh description of the Victory and World War II-built ships forming the supply line to the "brushfire war" 6,000 miles away, the fact is that most of the 240 cargo carriers are more than 20 years old. And in a relatively few more years, these rustbuckets literally will crumble up into the same red lead dust and scrap from which they originally were poured at a time when the United States was desperate for bottoms to transport materials to defeat the Axis powers in the greatest war in history. Those same bottoms managed to carry the United States through World War II, Korea, and the Suez Canal crisis.

Even though they certainly will not be able to perform in another limited or major war, nothing (literally) is being done to replace them because of the misconception that supplies and troops eventually will all go by air and the fact that, thus far, the relics have managed to do the job for Vietnam. However, there is some uncertainty as to whether they would survive Vietnam should it stretch into a prolonged engagement.

#### REPAIRS AND MORE REPAIRS

The vast amounts of continuing repairs after reactivation and the objections being raised by the engineer room crews because of the strain to keep the ships in operation indicates that Uncle Sam will be fortunate if he gets through the current minor conflict with this collection of ancient hulls. Those fully aware of the situation are gravely concerned that nothing is being done to build a fleet of ships for the next Korea or Vietnam. Such a crisis situation is more likely than ever since Great Britain and our other Western allies have turned over the responsibility for freedom in the world to the United States.

The theory that airlift will replace sealift should certainly be dispelled by events surrounding Vietnam and other recent crises when the Department of Defense immediately groped about for available merchant ships should they be needed—such as in the Cuban crisis in 1962.

Airlift will improve and carry increasing tonnages, but ships will continue to transport 90 to 98 percent of the supplies and a large percentage of troops. In the 15-year span between Korea and Vietnam, airlift only increased its "war lift" by 1 percent which means that 98 percent of the supplies and two of three troops going to Vietnam have moved by water just as they have since the United States first became involved overseas in the Spanish-American War. From that time, when 100 percent moved on the oceans, airlift has taken away only 2 percent of the total.

Just as ships today are carrying 98 percent of the supplies, so they will be needed for us large—or nearly as large—a proportion in a similar "skirmish" 15 or 20 years hence. The question now is whether they will be available.

#### THREE HUNDRED SEVENTY WSTS SHIPS

In order to keep materials flowing to our 295,000 servicemen in Vietnam and the 85,000 others in southeast Asia, the Military Sea

Transportation Service had expanded its entire nuclear fleet through charters and demobilization; 370 ships by March 1, 1966, with more being added regularly. This figure was equal to what MSTS had at its peak for Korea alone in August 1953—but there are major differences. Here are some of them:

1. The 101 Victory ships taken out of mothballs for Vietnam were in much poorer condition and some 14-15 years older than when they were used for the other Asian sealift.

2. The supply lines to Korea were much shorter because Japan was under the rule of Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur and vast amounts of supplies were handled from staging areas in Japan.

3. There were no massive logjams in Korean ports, causing ships to be backed up for from 6 weeks to 90 days at a clip as has occurred in Vietnam.

4. Seamen were more readily available because of the greater number of American-flag ships still on the high seas after World War II.

The critical dependency of the United States on World War II vessels—particularly the Victory and Liberty types which make up most of the reserve fleet—was pointed up in February 1956, when the British insurance underwriters raised the premiums on cargoes moving on all warbuilt vessels and those 20 years or older.

#### RELENTED A BIT

The British insurance industry, which sets the pace for the entire world, relaxed on American berth-line vessels other than Victories on the premise that they are maintained in first-class condition due to the stringent demands of the Coast Guard. But when the premium increase was first announced, 7 percent of the American berth-line fleet—the cream of the American merchant marine—was threatened because that portion of it is 20 years or older. Only 7 to 10 percent of the berth-line vessels of foreign steamship companies are of that vintage.

Even though the insurance premium is not applicable to military cargoes and ships, it is significant that so many of the bottoms on which officials in key positions in Government had been banking for America's protection—apparently until the year 2000—were considered "out of class" early this year. This is as true of Victory ships that have been given the best of care as those from the reserve fleets which had been given minimal or less care while moored together in the waters of the Hudson and James Rivers around to Olympia, Wash. The condition of the reserve ships has been reflected on every trip to Vietnam as they break down coming and going, annoying the crews and Departments of Defense no end.

But the fact is that, because there were so many bottoms—1,500 in all—in this country's reserve fleets, there has been a great reluctance to build up the American merchant marine. Nobody gave it much thought that these World War II relics could not last forever.

Robert Moot, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Installations and Logistics-Supply Services, did point out before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee on February 9, that only 25% reserve ships on July 1, 1965, had a speed of 14 knots or more. These included 135 Victories fitted with 6,000 shaft horsepower turbines and able to steam at 15 knots and 32 Victories with 8,500 horsepower turbines and a speed of 16.5 knots. The others had a maximum speed of 14 knots. However, the bulk of the reserve vessels were Liberties with a speed of only 10 knots which the Defense Department no longer described as "assets."

#### M'DONALD'S CONCERN

Admiral L. McDonald, Chief of Naval Operations, indirectly referred to the inadequacies of the reserve vessels in a recent

statement in which he noted that "the term 'inadequacy' has many facets."

"A fleet of World War II ships, or aircraft, may have adequate lift capacity but may be so deficient in other ways—speed, vulnerability, reaction time—as to make them of marginal utility in certain types of wartime employment," he stated. "For example, what may be adequate for a very limited situation, where plenty of time is available and there is no in-transit opposition, may not be at all adequate in a large-scale war with major naval opposition."

"The United States now has about 900 privately owned, active ships engaged in ocean-borne commerce. Of the 600 engaged in foreign trade, about 60 tankers have speeds of about 15 knots and about 116 dry cargo ships in operation or building have speeds over 20 knots. The remainder are slower ships."

#### THE DELUSION DIES HARD

"Slow ships are vulnerable and become more vulnerable with each passing year."

"In an emergency, foreign and allied ships may not be made available to the United States at a time when they are needed most."

In that carefully worded statement, Admiral McDonald dispelled many thoughts that had prevailed in Washington circles regarding the adequacy of the merchant marine of the richest nation on earth and its ability to depend on the ships of its "friends." It has been primarily because of the belief that there were plenty of ships in reserve and that Uncle Sam could always turn to foreign ships—a delusion after history had proven it to be otherwise so often—that Washington has been so reluctant to take major steps to improve that vital arm of seapower, the merchant marine.

Another major difference between Korea and Vietnam was the fact that in 1965-66, the United States did have available a handful of the most modern cargo ships in the world and did use a few that had been built under the ship replacement program for subsidized operators. More would have been on hand if the Government had lived up to its commitment in the replacement program and had not fallen 90 ships behind schedule by 1965 with no apparent intention of trying to catch up or even of keeping up with its previous commitments for the future.

All of this comes at a time when the United States finds more of the free world's defense forced upon it, at a time when the United States has been left by Great Britain, France, and others to fill in the gaps in sea power, air power and even manpower.

#### SUMMARY OF SITUATION

As the buildup in Vietnam keeps increasing, the merchant shipping picture could be summarized thusly:

1. Bloc obsolescence actually has overcome the Nation's fleet, but the vast residue from the expensive 1940-45 period—the "build-at-any-cost" era—has given the United States a false sense of security without anyone fully realizing that all of the reserve fleet is little more than "available hulls" while two-thirds of the active fleet is 20 years and older.

2. The United States has plummeted to 12th position in the world in merchant ship construction.

3. The United States has slipped to sixth position in the size of its active merchant fleet.

4. The Russians are building merchant vessels as rapidly as possible throughout the world—wherever there is an empty shipway—with the threat and promise that its merchant fleet would exceed that of the United States in 3 to 4 years. Not only would the Russians have more capacity, but their ships would be modern.

5. MSTS established a precedent by inviting foreign shipowners on several occasions to bid for transporting military supplies to Europe, the Mediterranean and the Near and the Far East.

April 7, 1966

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marily on iron and steel, it is one of the most important and diversified industrial areas in the world. Pittsburgh is a major producer of plate glass, aluminum, heavy electrical equipment, and chemicals.

Like most cities, Pittsburgh suffered from deterioration, obsolescence, and extensive blight. By the 1940's, its downtown and its residential, industrial, and outlying commercial areas were rapidly decaying. In addition, it was subjected to periodic flooding. Another blighting factor gave Pittsburgh its unsavory nickname of the "the Smoky City." The city's physical, economic, and social health were threatened.

In 1943, representatives of the city government, financial, business, labor, and institutional groups met to devise a plan of attack on the many problems that plagued Pittsburgh. The Allegheny Conference on Community Development was organized, with a cross section of the city's business and financial leaders on its board. Ex officio members represent various governmental units and educational institutions.

The conference was one of the prime movers in urging enactment of the State enabling legislation in 1946. Its first goals were the abatement of smoke and flood conditions, followed by an attack on Pittsburgh's rundown areas. It still functions as the catalyst for the upgrading programs of the city.

Some of the more significant results of Pittsburgh's overall upgrading programs have been—

Periodic flooding has been eliminated and the smoke nuisance abated.

One thousand blighted acres have been redeveloped.

Some 685 acres have been sold or committed for redevelopment.

Over 4,500 families—approximately 18,000 persons—have been relocated, 97 percent of them into improved housing.

Real estate assessments have increased 60 percent in renewal areas and 25 percent city-wide.

Over \$381 million in private capital has been spent or is being expended for new construction in renewal areas. Ultimate private investment is estimated in excess of a half billion dollars—95 percent taxable.

Thousands of new jobs have been created in industry. Other jobs that the city might have lost from moveouts have been saved.

Some 55 major new structures have been built in downtown Pittsburgh. This construction has been stimulated by urban renewal and other governmental and private action.

Construction payrolls in the renewal areas during the past 5 years have averaged close to \$24 million annually. In the past 2 years, construction starts and completions have aggregated about \$130 million.

The Pittsburgh economy is stronger than it has been for many years, and its unemployment rate has dropped below 4 percent for the first time in a decade.

The city's first renewal project, Jones & Laughlin, was undertaken in 1949 without Federal financial assistance. This was a 32-acre industrial development project to provide land for the construction of 11 new open-hearth furnaces for the Jones & Laughlin Co. at its South Side plant. The redevelopment authority acquired the land and sold it to Jones & Laughlin, which then invested \$80 million in the new facilities. If Jones & Laughlin had not been able to expand its plant, it might have moved out of Pittsburgh.

The following year, in 1950, the Gateway Center project began. Gateway Center had been conceived and planned 3 years before the federally assisted program came into being. It was one of the very first projects to be undertaken in the country, and is also one of the most successful.

The project covers a 23-acre downtown area, which has been transformed from an eyesore into a handsome complex of new buildings and landscaped plazas. More than 20,000 people are now employed in the project area, five times the number before redevelopment. Tax assessments have increased fivefold. Seven office structures; an 800-room hotel; a 27-story apartment building with 311 units; 4 underground parking garages; and the pedestrian plazas represent an investment of \$185 million.

It was this local activity, and the spectacular results it brought, that created the public support for Pittsburgh's participation in a much-expanded program, when Federal assistance became available.

Pittsburgh's nine federally assisted urban renewal projects comprise 894 acres. These represent some \$104 million in Federal grant reservations. The projects cover a wide range of neighborhood types and geographic areas, all planned to improve the physical environment of Pittsburgh and build stronger economic foundations. But there are also the human problems which stem principally from slum living and conditions of poverty. Under the community renewal program, current studies and actions are underway to attack these human problems. URA has provided a \$900,000 grant for the CRP. Following is a brief synopsis of each project.

Lower Hill, begun in 1956, was formerly a 95-acre concentration of slums, adjacent to the central business district; 1,300 structures were removed, and reconstruction is completed or underway on two-thirds of the area. A new civic arena, costing \$22 million, has been in use since September 1961, and a 396-unit apartment building is occupied. Also completed are a synagogue, a bank, a highway connector, and a 2,200-car parking garage. Underway is the \$27 million Chatham Center, which will consist of a hotel-office building and an apartment house. A center for the arts is planned for the area.

Chateau Street West, a 98-acre area on the North Side, is planned for light industrial use. Included are warehouses, distribution services, and similar activities essential to the economic health of the city. Almost all of the 58 acres of cleared land has been redeveloped. Twenty-five sites have been sold or committed, and 18 buildings are completed or under construction.

East Liberty, formerly 254 acres of mixed uses, including a local commercial center. Half of the area is to be used for new homes and business buildings, new streets, parks, off-street parking, and other public facilities. The other half is to undergo extensive rehabilitation. Started or completed to date are about \$15 million in private and \$8 million in public construction. Renewal will make possible an increase of 1,600 residents in new apartment and single-family residences. Three pedestrian malls will be developed, retaining most of the existing commercial activities.

Allegheny Center, a 79-acre area, 10 minutes' walk from downtown. Bordered on three sides by 100 acres of city parks, it contains a library, planetarium, schools, and churches. Designed to be "a city within a city," it is being developed with 216 townhouses, 1,335 apartments, a professional building, 2 department stores, an enclosed shopping center, a multilevel parking garage, and a public square. The developers, of which the Aluminum Co. of America is the largest, are investing \$60 million. This project is the springboard for some \$275 million of public and private development now in progress on the North Side.

Bluff Street, adjacent to Lower Hill and downtown, was a deteriorated residential area. Most of the cleared land is being sold

to Duquesne University for campus expansion, which will permit a doubling of student enrollment to 11,000. Several dormitories and a student activities building are complete or under construction. A science center is soon to be started, and a 350-unit apartment structure is planned.

Stadium, an 84-acre area of railroad, warehouse, and scrap metal uses. This will be the site of the city's 55,000-seat sports stadium, immediately adjacent to downtown. Construction is scheduled to start by mid-1966.

Homewood North, the city's first full-scale rehabilitation project. One hundred and seventeen acres of existing single-family homes will be upgraded, along with extensive public improvements. A limited amount of clearance will provide land for some 90 new needs.

Woods Run, approved for planning in November 1965, is a 126-acre area adjoining Chateau Street West. It is primarily an industrial area with some residential intermixed. Eighty-four percent of the buildings low-cost dwelling units to meet relocation cleared and the topography improved. The land will be made available for industrial use as part of the program for improving the city's economy.

Federal-Anderson, now in preliminary planning. This 64-acre tract of riverfront land adjoins the stadium area on the Lower North Side. It is planned for varied reuses to supplement the stadium complex.

This is the Pittsburgh program that prompted Mayor Barr to say recently: "Urban renewal has been the salvation of a city that 20 years ago seemed doomed to darkness and decline."

#### CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

portance consistently expanded. Both community-wide and neighborhood groups are involved. At the present time, at least 50 nonpartisan councils, associations, and committees are organized. They speak and act for homeowners, tenants, and business interests in practically every neighborhood of the city.

The most active groups are in neighborhoods presently undergoing renewal or scheduled for renewal action. Through chosen representatives, these citizens groups have continuing liaison and work closely with the mayor's office, the redevelopment authority, and the department of city planning. In all cases, minority representation is present.

The prime cohesive force is the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, consisting of 125 citizen sponsors. This organization, for over 20 years, has exerted an important influence in arousing community understanding and support for upgrading programs. The conference has been responsible for establishing a pattern of public-private action which has spread throughout the community. It has directly fostered the organization of other civic committees to meet specific community needs.

In 1957, the Allegheny Conference sponsored Action-Housing, Inc., a nonprofit agency created to bring about better housing and neighborhoods in Pittsburgh. Its financial support comes from many sources. It has sponsored and encouraged the formation of various citizens groups in renewal areas, such as the Homewood-Brushton Citizens Renewal Council, described below. In addition to the Homewood-Brushton program, Action-Housing is carrying out a 5-year demonstration program of neighborhood revitalization financed by a Ford Foundation grant with local matching funds. Action-Housing's Pittsburgh development fund, a \$1.6 million revolving loan fund, was set up through loans and grants from local foundations, banks, utilities, industrial corporations, and department stores.

The fund has provided financial assistance to builders and developers that has made possible several large private housing developments.

In 1959, ACTION-Housing sponsored a pilot Neighborhood Urban Extension group at the invitation of neighborhood residents. Named the Homewood-Brushton Citizens Renewal Council, it was worked closely with the city planning commission in developing a long-range plan for the 900-acre Homewood-Brushton area. The council has formed the Homewood North Conservation Committee to work with the redevelopment authority in the execution of the 118-acre Homewood North conservation project. The council publishes a neighborhood newspaper and operates a housing clinic. The clinic assists residents in improving dwellings, advises on repairs and rehabilitation necessary to upgrade homes to project standards, and arranges for mortgage financing to accomplish the work.

To stimulate homeowner interest and encourage participation by residents, the redevelopment authority's rehabilitation department recently compiled a questionnaire on residents' views, attitudes, and opinions. It was circulated with the aid of the committee.

The questionnaire's significance is its comprehensiveness. It provides the means of evaluating each resident's views on a whole range of subjects. Its major concern is with the residents' personal preferences and attitudes regarding housing and environmental factors. Specific questions cover such items as the respondent's own housing—adequacy, size, condition, rental or ownership status, and cost. Also the resident is asked to classify the housing in his own individual block and the neighborhood at large. There are additional questions on the kind of new housing the neighborhood needs, by type, price or rental; traffic control; public improvements; adequacy of police, fire, garbage removal, and other public services; and schools. Also tested are the respondent's familiarity with the project objectives. It seeks to ascertain the individual's personal opinions regarding the Homewood neighborhood and whether the resident will stay in the neighborhood or move away. Copies of the questionnaire may be obtained from the Council Office, 920 Homewood Avenue, Pittsburgh.

A 16-millimeter film, "The Voice From the Street," has been made by station KDKA in Pittsburgh, depicting the activities of the council. The 30-minute film is available on loan, at no charge, from the Library, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., 20410.

Another agency, Community Organizations of Pittsburgh (CO-OP), was founded in 1963. CO-OP coordinates the activities of a number of neighborhood groups. By the end of 1964, 30 neighborhood groups were affiliated with CO-OP and 12 others were prospective affiliates. CO-OP's main function is to represent neighborhoods in issues of citywide scope and to encourage citizen support for capital improvements, improved public services, code administration, and other citywide services.

In 1964, the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources was formed. This agency administers the community action program under the economic opportunity program. The executive director of the redevelopment authority is a member of this committee. Thus, a constant coordination of the urban renewal and antipoverty programs is assured.

Dozens of other neighborhood organizations are in operation, representing residents of individual areas. These meet regularly with public and private agencies to present the views of the residents in matters affecting their neighborhoods.

## Inadequacy of Our Merchant Marine

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 6, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include at this point in the RECORD an article by Hoyt S. Haddock which appeared in the NMU Pilot, the official organ of the National Maritime Union of America. In capsule form this article goes to the very core of the merchant marine crisis.

Mr. Haddock is executive secretary of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee. Hereafter is his article:

LET'S FACE IT, MR. McNAMARA, WE JUST DON'T HAVE THE SHIPS

The Secretary of Defense has again stated that the current merchant marine is adequate to meet emergency Defense Department needs. Apparently, the Secretary is not aware of the extreme hardships that have been placed on the U.S. fleet and merchant seamen to meet the Vietnam situation to date or is too stubborn to admit he was wrong in his appraisal of the merchant marine in 1962.

The number of ships necessary to fulfill any degree of military commitment is not available because of its classified nature. One reason it is classified is that the Secretary of Defense does not want the people to know just how inadequate our merchant marine is. Another reason for keeping the planning classified is that it would expose our weaknesses to our enemies.

The Secretary's announcement and his past actions, however, lead us to believe that this statement of adequacy is completely out of step with the facts and with the degree of commitment the Government is now planning in the Vietnam war.

The inadequacy in terms of fulfilling military requirements of the current fleet can be demonstrated by comparing the current fleet with the fleet at the outbreak of the Korean war and the increase necessary at that time.

At the beginning of the Korean war there were 61,650 seamen on board the privately owned and Government-owned ships under bareboat and general agency charters. The number of seamen increased to 99,700 by January 1, 1952, to meet the Korean situation.

To meet the shipping requirements for Korea, the number of ships was increased 64 percent between June 1950 and January 1952. Over this same period, the number of seamen increased by 62 percent. This increase in ships was necessary in spite of the fact that American-flag ships were carrying 43 percent of our imports and exports in 1950 and 1951.

Between 1950 and 1965 our imports and exports increased by 191 percent, but the actual tons carried on U.S.-flag ships decreased by 43 percent. (In 1950 U.S.-flag ships carried 43 percent of the imports and exports and in 1964 carried 8.3 percent.) The tonnage carried on U.S.-flag ships in 1964 would have to be increased by 410 percent to bring the carriage up to the 43 percent carried in 1950.

In terms of numbers of seamen and ships, the current number would have to be increased by approximately 100 percent to equal the number in service during the Korean war. This increase would be larger if it was projected from the beginning of the buildup last year.

While these figures do not show precise numbers of ships or seamen necessary in case of a national emergency, they do, however, shed light on the statement that the U.S.-flag merchant marine is "adequate."

But aside from the question of whether the Secretary is right or wrong is the fact that the basic responsibility for promoting an American-flag merchant marine does not reside within the Department of Defense. This responsibility belongs to the Maritime Administrator. In developing a merchant marine, the Maritime Administrator should be guided by: the number of ships necessary to meet emergency military needs—the absolute minimum below which we should never drop to insure our own survival. At the same time, the Administrator has the clear responsibility to work toward a goal of at least 50 percent of all our waterborne commerce on U.S.-flag ships.

But instead, the Maritime Administrator accepts these broad questionable statements of adequacy for defense and then further compounds the fleet's inadequacy by using them as maximums above which Government participation should not be extended.

The Administrator further abdicates his responsibility when he advocates building in foreign yards. Further, he projects a program with no passenger ships and less cargo ships manned with less seamen to carry less cargo.

## Our Aging Merchantmen and Vietnam

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 29, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, concerned citizens from every part of this Nation are growing increasingly alarmed at the crisis condition of this country's merchant marine fleet. Spokesmen from labor unions, from shipbuilding companies, from importer and export associations, from the military associations, and from the national press are expressing their alarm at the degeneration that has taken place in all phases of our merchant marine. It seems, Mr. Speaker, that the burdens of the war in Vietnam have revealed a pandora's box of troubles: lack of trained pilots and merchant marine officers; lack of young, able crewmen; most ships over 20 years of age and in drastic need of repairs; lack of an adequate replacement and ship construction program; loss of international trade routes to foreign competitors; and total decay in this Nation's leadership on the high seas. Mr. Speaker, by the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended, the administration is charged with the responsibility to develop a national maritime policy. The realities of the mess in the merchant marine make it very clear that under this administration there simply is no national maritime policy. Where is the leadership, Mr. Speaker? What is the Maritime Administration doing, Mr. Speaker, about this serious crisis?

One of the most able spokesman expressing alarm is the maritime editor of the Baltimore Sun, Helen Delich Bentley, who has authored an article appearing

The task in which we are involved is the developing of Latin American institutions which can attack the barriers to economic and social development; it is developing working programs in tax, fiscal, land, and credit reform; it is planning effective use of available resources in the development process; it is the training of professional and technical people for industrial and agricultural development. And, ladies and gentlemen, it is giving hope for a better life to that man in the rural village who is struggling at the starvation level to put food in the mouths of his children and who dares to dream of a better future for those children. It is giving hope for a better life to that mother in the slums surrounding the cities of most of Latin America, who sees her first born live through a long bout with disease only to face a future with little hope of learning to read or write or acquiring some basic skill on which to base a life.

The task is not an easy one. It involves dynamic forces demanding or opposing change. Nevertheless, through the government-to-government programs, i.e., the bilateral agreements reached between our Government and those of the underdeveloped countries of Latin America, institutions are being built: savings and loan, private development banks, cooperatives, productivity centers, management and labor training institutions, and agricultural extension systems.

Yes, the Alliance is moving. It has its slow periods and it has its violent interruptions. But progress is being made in the cold, hard, unglamorous business of building and strengthening the institutional capabilities of the various countries to work on their own problems. There is, however, one great gap which needs to be filled, and it is on this need—and this opportunity—that we are directing our attention today.

It takes time to build an extension service to the point that it can reach out to the man in rural Latin America. It takes time to develop a savings and loan system which can provide houses for a segment of the society. In short, it takes time to develop and expand institutions. Until this can be done, there is a particular need to give a sense of movement to the alliance at the grassroots level. Your help is needed in responding to local self-help efforts in the rural villages and in the slums which surround the cities.

The partners of the alliance, as a second followup phase of the alliance, is the channel through which you, as members of organizations or as individuals, can work directly in an alliance with the eager people of a small but important country focusing its attention on independence and self-identification. This is a private sector program which offers to you an opportunity and a challenge. If you believe that we should strengthen the friendly ties with Latin America, you have a specific opportunity now before you.

Through a Michigan Partners of the Alliance, there is not an individual or neighborhood group that cannot be a working part of a new private sector partnership with the citizens of British Honduras.

There are now operating partnerships established between private sector counterpart groups in 15 Latin American republics and 29 States of the United States. These partnerships develop in response to interest expressed by these groups. Our partners office in the U. S. Alliance headquarters in Washington responds to this interest and plays the role of catalyst—translating that interest into an operating program through the mechanism of Partners of the Alliance committees.

Once a broadly representative U.S. Partner committee is formally organized, our office takes an additional supporting step by arranging for the visit of a four to five member

"program development team" to the Partner area and—working with a counterpart Partners of the alliance group—to develop a program which they will jointly implement. Such a program, of course, should be based on the best local consensus of priority needs as related to the resources available to the partners for the task ahead.

Similarly, the composition of the team selected by the U.S. partners committee should reflect these priority areas, which in Michigan's case have been suggested in advance by the premier and our own Consul General in Belize in collaboration with the Peace Corps Director and other local leaders. My colleague Mr. Ruben will elaborate on these recommended priority areas.

Once the committees have been formed and the program development team has made its report, the partners continue to work together directly. Our Washington Partners staff withdraws into the wings, so to speak, but continues to be available as a resource to assist the partnership when we can and when called upon. We endeavor to provide the common channel of communication through which the various committees can share program experiences.

These partnerships normally develop programs revolving on the following five types of activities:

1. Helping local groups complete community self-help projects.
2. Technical assistance.
3. Educational scholarships and professor exchanges.
4. Cultural exchanges.
5. Investment and commercial relationships.

In the first category are the many small projects in which local groups in a Latin American country have undertaken self-help but need some assistance in completing them. For example, in several countries rural communities have built schools but lack the materials for the roof, doors, and windows. High schools, or even elementary and intermediate school students, civic clubs, and other groups working through their State's partners of the alliance committees, may provide financing for the needed materials.

Other similar projects already completed have involved equipment for medical posts or small hospitals, books in Spanish or Portuguese for village libraries, hand tools for training programs, hand pumps have been provided for community wells; also blockmaking machines, chain saws, hand tools and other equipment have been provided to enable slum improvement associations to complete community buildings, schools and medical posts. Scores of projects such as these have been completed, and many more are in process of being implemented.

These are small projects but to villages in which the family income may range from \$40 to \$80 a year, this is meaningful help.

In the category of technical assistance, the U. S. partners committees may develop an inventory of specialists who would be available to go, upon request, to their partner area for 1, 2, or 3 months—not on the basis of a contract but solely on the basis of transportation and per diem costs. For example, the Texas League of Municipalities has offered to make available to their partners in Peru, men with broad experience in handling the practical problems of city government. Similarly, a Houston television station and another professional broadcasting group have offered to help the Peruvian Broadcasting Association in its educational programming. The offers are expressions of keen interest at the community level in the alliance for progress.

In the field of education, Florida is developing a scholarship program with Colombia. The Florida Alliance Committee has al-

ready worked with educational institutions in establishing up to five scholarships at each of 29 junior colleges as well as a lesser number at the graduate level. Plans also call for future collaboration with the Barranquilla midmanagement training center and a technical and vocational training center.

Joint venture investments and other commercial relationships are developing as a natural outgrowth of the partnerships. At the first Inter-American Partners of the Alliance conference held last June, the committee on industrial development and investment opportunities recommended that the various partners committees in Latin America develop a list of specific investment opportunities and assign to them priority ratings based on their general contribution to the country's economic development. These lists are then made available to their counterpart group.

These examples illustrate activities in relation to the five areas named above. Mr. Ruben in his topic, "How Can Michigan and British Honduras Collaborate in a Partnership?" will describe other interesting and varied ongoing activities.

One of the most important aspects of the partnership program, however, is the fact that it is a two-way program.

When the late President Kennedy spoke to the Latin American Diplomatic Corps and the Members of the U.S. Congress on March 13, 1961, he said:

"We invite our friends in Latin America to contribute to the enrichment of life and culture in the United States. We need teachers of your literature and history and tradition, opportunities for our young people to study in your universities, access to your music, your art, and the thought of your great philosophers. For we know we have much to learn."

In keeping with the two-way flow of the partnership, one State university in the United States is organizing a planning department and has requested professional assistance from its Latin American partner, which happens to have a strong cadre of technicians and professionals in that discipline.

Costa Rica sent 12 educators to Oregon and assisted that State in upgrading the teaching of Spanish and as resource staff for social studies.

In the business world, partnership signifies sharing in the proceeds of business operations. Similarly, the partners of the alliance seeks to establish a channel through which organizations and individuals in every area of the hemisphere can share in the work of the development process and together reap the benefits of educational, cultural, social, and economic progress.

Finally, the partners of the alliance is not a program of mutual "adoption" but rather it is a practical approach through which the people in the United States and Latin America can work together in a direct alliance. It is a two-way program, the scope of which is limited only by the imagination and energies of the partners in each relationship. We in the United States long have talked about what we can learn from the great cultural and educational wealth of the other Americas, but we have not done enough to put that stated principle into practice. This we can help do through the partnership program.

This then is the story of the partners of the alliance. It now remains for this audience to decide the matter of Michigan's participation.

On behalf of the partners office I pledge the support of our partners staff in your effort. Should this group organize on a statewide basis, we will support a followup program development team of members to visit British Honduras and round out a joint program. I am sure you will find the effort richly rewarding.

Thank you again for your kind attention.

since the murder of Diem we have put in and supported a comic-opera succession of inept and arrogant generals, the current of whom is an admirer of the energy and dynamism of Adolf Hitler, and none of whom, according to James Reston, had a popular base with the people who "regard their leaders in Saigon as merely the successors of the French colonial regime."

Of course we do not have neocolonial ambitions or seek booty or territory in Vietnam. We are there to fill a power vacuum so as to contain and check the threats of Communist expansionism. But, in response to our peculiarly American brand of obsessive anticommunism, we have so frequently misled our own people that Ambassador Goldberg has admitted there is a problem of restoring "credibility" among Americans to the statements of our own Government. We have succumbed to the immorality of the end justifies the means, so that we have dropped napalm bombs on children and women in villages, we have bombed a sovereign nation in outright violation of the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Accord; we have acquiesced in the brutal use of torture by our South Vietnamese allies; we have not shrank from defoliating crops; we have persisted in our outrageous pieties that our bombings kill no civilians while our pilots report that they blow up anything that moves down a highway; at least one hospital has been bombed and one of our pilots even informed the New York Times that he had thrown a Vietcong prisoner out of his plane in mid-air because he refused to talk.

There is no doubt that the Vietcong Communists are fierce practitioners of terror, but if the moral distinction between them and us is obliterated, does it matter who wins Vietnam? In this war, which is prettied up as a war for freedom in South Vietnam, there is no freedom now and there never has been in that ravaged land. In this war which we pretend is a war against aggression, but which began as a civil war in violent reaction against the destruction of the Geneva agreements and against the repressions of the puppet Diem, we have now backed ourselves into what has become a fullfledged American war in which the helpless people of Vietnam are becoming mere pawns. We have brutalized ourselves in the dirtiest war in which this Nation has ever been engaged. We have managed once again, as in Santo Domingo and many other parts of the world, to identify ourselves with the discredited generals and corrupt agents of an unjust society.

We have appointed ourselves policemen of the world, whether the rest of the world wants it or not. We have given ourselves to an exercise of self-righteousness flowing from a distorted view of reality in which we are ready to ascribe all fault to our Communist enemies and to see ourselves as blameless. When we exaggerate the admittedly hostile intentions of our enemy, when we ignore the frightening effects upon them of our threats and actions, when we imagine we can arrange the world in our way, we place all mankind in jeopardy.

The Communist monolith is dissolving and dividing before our very eyes, but we cannot seem to lay down the clichés and the slogans which have befogged us for 20 years. And so we proceed on a course which drives Hanoi into the arms of Peking, which impairs the possibility of the Soviet-American detente which could lead to broad areas of settlement, which cannot possibly be resolved by military victory, which earns the fearful trembling but not the support of our allies throughout the world, which wastes American blood and wealth while China has a propaganda field day at our expense while she loses not a single Chinese soldier, and

which raises the frightful possibility of a nuclear holocaust. On top of that is the folly of turning revolution over to the Communists who, of course, seek to subdue and capture the revolution for their own purposes, while we embrace the hated generals and the keepers of the status quo.

But, we are told, we Jews especially must realize that this is Munich all over again and we must not permit appeasement. In my judgement this is demagoguery and nonsense. Communism and nazism are both noxious but they are not identical. Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia are Communist nations as well; they are not our enemies. In 1938, the main force operating against the Czech status quo was an outside force, Hitler's Germany; the major force operating against the status quo in South Vietnam has been an inside force, formed in 1960 into the NLF. The largest outside force in Vietnam is American troops, although North Vietnam pours more regiments into South Vietnam as the war escalates. The Czech government was a stable, strong, democratic government the South Vietnamese government is a dictatorship which we buy, sell and manipulate like puppets on a string. Ho Chi Minh is a ruthless and bloody tyrant, but he is not Hitler. Standing firm in 1938 might have ended the danger of Hitler's Germany. Fighting in Vietnam today, even if we gained total victory which would mean the decimation of all Vietnam, does not even engage our central foes—the Chinese Communists and perhaps the Soviets. To engage what we regard as our real foes would require nuclear bombs, and except for a few Pentagon madmen, we do not seem ready for that. The analogy between Vietnam and Munich is a spurious one; when used to frighten Jews it is a transparent and indefensible piece of demagoguery.

Should we withdraw from Vietnam? No, that is manifestly impossible. We should renew the cessation of bombings in North Vietnam and maintain unceasing quiet diplomatic efforts to get negotiations started among all parties to the conflict, including the Vietcong, which will lead to a cease-fire and an honorable settlement. As a Jewish community, we should speak and act in behalf of peaceful settlement of conflicts, in behalf of all movements in the direction of a world at law, in behalf of all efforts to deal with the poverty and hunger and disease which is at the root of the revolutionary fever of this age, in behalf of conciliation, negotiation, and peace. And, in my opinion, any Jewish agency which speaks out of a Jewish value stance will speak out for precisely these kinds of things. Isn't that a tender-hearted position? Yes. That's what the Jewish position has always been. Rachmanim, b'nai rachmanim—merciful sons of the Merciful. Neither America nor the world needs us to join the mob howling for more blood, more bombs, more military power or to develop position papers or strategy and realpolitik. We do not need a Jewish desk of the Ranc Corp. The Communist world is already dehumanized and we are rushing to catch up. No, America and the world need Jews, who are really Jews, to keep man human, to remind us again that man is a precious thing that there is only one family of man, that the spilling of blood is something more serious than cracking a nut, that he who saves a life saves a world, and that man has a higher destiny than that revealed in the cesspool of Vietnam.

Long after this war disappears into history, the world will still remember the words of the Hebrew prophets of 2,000 years ago, pointing the pathways of morality out of the jungle of inhumanity to that day when men will not hurt nor destroy in all this holy mountain. That was our mission in ancient days and it is still our mission today.

## Michigan Partners for the Alliance

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 5, 1966

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, a group of distinguished Michiganders will travel this Saturday to British Honduras, a Central American country which will gain its independence in the next few years.

They will be the vanguard of other groups who will visit this country under the Michigan Partners of the Alliance program established only last February.

In every sense of the word, the relationship between Michigan and this soon-to-be independent country which plans to call itself Belize will be a partnership, a mutual exchange of information, of knowledge, or experience for the betterment of both.

I am proud to see this relationship come about and I am sure that the Michigan Partners of the Alliance, under the able leadership of the Honorable Alvin E. Bently and Chancellor Durward Varner of Oakland University, will prove to be of great value to the cause of better understanding between our two peoples.

At the organizational meeting of the Michigan Partners of the Alliance program at Michigan State University on February 25, Mr. Theodore Tenorio, associate director of the Partners of the Alliance program, very ably outlined the objectives and the purposes of this worthwhile program. For the benefit of my colleagues, Mr. Tenorio's remarks follow:

REMARKS OF THEODORE TENORIO, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF THE PARTNERS OF THE ALLIANCE PROGRAM, AT THE ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING CALLED BY GOV. GEORGE ROMNEY AT THE STUDENT UNION BUILDING, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, EAST LANSING, ON FEBRUARY 25, 1966

Governor Romney, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of Jim Boren, the director whose message you have just heard, and our small partners staff I am grateful to Governor Romney for this invitation to be here this morning to talk with you briefly about the Partners of the Alliance, the grassroots operational program in which you are contemplating direct involvement.

The parent Alliance for Progress, which evolved from that now historic conference in Uruguay in 1961, is not a U.S. program, but rather it is an alliance involving, in the words of the charter of Punta del Este, "The full energies of the peoples and governments of the American Republics." It is therefore a great joint effort which calls for positive action not only of governments but also of the private sector. This means that the Alliance is a great revolutionary program for progress which must have the active participation of the people of the United States—and the people of Latin America. Business leaders, yes, but this means the small businessman as well as the director of a large corporation. Labor leaders, yes, but also the member down at the level of his local. Professional leaders, yes, but also the young dynamic man or woman who may be starting a professional career but can make a contribution to the cause of hemispheric peace.

question in the affirmative, and Reform Judaism has taken the lead in mobilizing the entire Jewish community to this challenge. For if such issues of war and peace are not within our province, then we reside in the province of Chelm or never never land. There are many grounds for Jewish concern, not the least of which is our stake in maintaining a healthy and vigorous climate of civil liberties in America itself.

If the war in Vietnam continues its spiral of escalation, we may enter a dark and dangerous era in American life in which a spirit of repression and hysteria and hatred will make the McCarthyism of the fifties look, in retrospect, like a mild national aberration. The tension over the Korean conflict spawned the madness of McCarthyism. As I write, we have resumed bombing in North Vietnam and the Security Council of the United Nations is preparing to debate the question. What lies ahead no man can see, but it could well be a storm which would unleash the passions and furies of repression here in the United States.

Some troubling portents are already evident. Government leaders on all levels have helped shape a public mood inhospitable to criticism of U.S. policy in Vietnam. Attorney General Katzenbach has held out the threat of a full-scale investigation into the demonstrations, promising that "we may have some prosecutions in this area." J. Edgar Hoover, who can always be relied upon to appeal to the primitive and widely held notion that Communists are at the bottom of all social agitation, reassured the public that Communists are exploiting the protest against our Vietnam policy. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has reported that the demonstrations have passed into the hands of Communists and extreme elements. That some Communists are exploiting this issue goes without saying; that such statements by government leaders will have the effect of stifling free debate and discouraging honest dissent also goes without saying. Although the Presidents consensus curtain has tended to muffle debate, there has been a certain polarization of dissenting opinion in the Congress and the country, emphasized by the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and intensified by the sharp criticisms of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

While the burning of draft cards is a futile and senseless gesture which merely beclouds the debate, young and misguided idealists who destroy their cards to symbolize their conscientious abhorrence of the war in Vietnam are treated like major threats to the American system; harsh and panicky legislation was quickly adopted to make violators subject to maximum penalties of 5 years imprisonment or \$10,000 fine or both. As the American Jewish Congress has pointed out, this stands in shocking contrast to the penalty for desecrating the U.S. flag: 30 days imprisonment or \$100 fine or both. This borders on war hysteria and scapegoating which can lead to excesses as to which Jewish and other groups concerned with civil liberties should at least maintain vigilant concern.

This growing punitiveness was also reflected in the sentence of 2 years at hard labor, a dishonorable discharge and forfeiture of pay which was visited upon Lt. Harry W. Howe for participating, not in uniform and not on duty, in an anti-Vietnam demonstration in El Paso, Tex. This is a harsh penalty and the victim is not only one man, but the first amendment to the Constitution. Would he have been punished in the same way if his placard had read: "Bomb the Chinese Communists back to the stone age"?

And perhaps most ominous of all have been threats by officials of the selective service program to lift the deferment of college students who are involved in student protests. One of the finest products of our youth program in Reform Judaism, a deeply committed and socially conscious young stu-

dent at Ann Arbor, has had his deferment cancelled because of his participation in a demonstration there. It is encouraging that the Justice Department has spoken up for the constitutional right of dissent, and it is to be hoped that it will dissuade the overzealous from the temptation to use the draft as a hammer to smash lawful political activity and to intimidate young and vulnerable students from expressing their consciences. I do not want to overstate the situation. There are powerful agencies of the courts, the press and the citizenry to resist these trends, and the right to protest has in the main been protected. But I don't think we should regard these few portents as merely transient irritants either. Even before Vietnam became a crisis, the forces of right wing radicalism were significant in American life; and, despite the leadership of the courts in safeguarding civil liberties, public opinion polls in this country have always revealed widespread impatience with the rights of dissenters—atheists, Socialists, Communists and agitators of all kinds. When this normally fragile foundation is burdened with the tensions of an actual shooting war against Communists, when the awesome power of America seems not to be capable of achieving clean-cut military victory, when for the first time in American history a widespread protest movement evolves in the very midst of a war, then all the latent paranoid tendencies in American life will inevitably be exacerbated. Critics will be told to shut up, rally around the flag, stop selling out our boys in Vietnam, go back where you came from, and criticism will be increasingly equated with pro-communism and with treason. Neighbor will once again view neighbor with suspicion, and the hunt for a scapegoat will be on. Our national character does not dispose us for that "ordeal of patience" of which Ambassador Goldberg recently spoke. The attrition of American liberties would be a greater disaster than the loss of Vietnam, and we must have the courage to affirm the first amendment, to uphold lawful protest and dissent, and to encourage diversity and open debate which are the true glories of American democracy.

There is another rationale for our concern. It is the Great Society. Despite President Johnson's assurances to the contrary, I fear that an escalated war in Vietnam will also spell the epitaph to the Great Society. Not only are we not rich enough to wipe out poverty, racial ghettos, illiteracy, and misery here at the same time that we conduct a protracted major war there, but I believe that an intensification of this war will so brutalize and blunt our moral sensitivity as to drain most of the idealism out of the vision of a Great Society.

I believe that our deepest rationale is the imperative of Judaism itself. Our unique history has made us specialists in the survival of human crisis; indeed, I think this accounts in part for the growing fascination on the part of non-Jews with literature about the mystery of Jews, Judaism, and Jewish history. We tend, correctly, to attribute our drive for social justice to Jewish religious values. We explain our position on racial justice in terms of the Judaic concept of the sanctity of the human personality and the equality of all the children of God. Yet the commandment to seek peace, to pursue it, to be messengers of peace unto the nations—that commandment is infinitely more emphatic and unambiguous. It was our prophets who gave the world the vision of universal peace; and our rabbinic literature is an unceasing demand that Jews stand, as co-partners with God, in shaping the messianic vision of a time when nations shall beat their swords into plowshares. But never before in human history have Jews had the freedom and the security and the access to the ears of the world to give universal meaning to this mandate. The insights of Jewish tradit-

tion, the lessons of Jewish history, the ethical values of Judaism are acutely relevant, I believe, to an American sick and hungry for values to live by.

Nobody pretends that we Jews have lived up to that mission in our time. Individual Jews have won Nobel Prizes and our numbers fill the ranks of SANE, foreign policy associations, U.N. groups and every protest group, but as a Jewish community we have largely been tepid and silent on the great issues of war and peace. Nowhere is the status quo tendency of the Jewish community more evident than in the sphere of war and peace. We pay a price for being so accepted and secure in American life. We are so in that we are losing that special angle of vision which comes from being out, from being alienated, from being part of but apart from the general society, subjecting it to judgment and to criticism. I get worried when the Jewish position is a popular position. The entire organized Jewish community today is in danger of becoming a nice, bright ornament of the establishment, as predictable as a New York Post editorial and as safe as a Chaplain blessing the House of Representatives. It is against us, too, that some of our best young kids are revolting.

One can criticize religion and its place in the social order, but one cannot discount the significance of the Vatican Council schema on war and peace, of Pope John's "Pacem in Terris," and especially the moral leadership on this issue which the current Pope of Rome is bringing to bear. The same is true of the statement by the National Council of Churches of Christ, which similarly related a great religious tradition to the issues of our day. Nobody would care what a Jewish bowling club has to say about Vietnam, but I think they do care where Judaism stands, what we at the UAHC said in San Francisco and what the leaders of the three faiths will say when they meet in a conference on religion and peace in Washington.

But for a Jewish community to speak to this kind of issue also requires more than an assemblage of persons who happen to be born Jewish; it requires an embodiment and expression of what is uniquely and profoundly Jewish: the ideals and values which lie embedded in the Jewish historic and religious experience. If we have not succeeded in making visible and clear the relevance of this Jewish tradition, it is our failure and not the failure of Judaism. It may be inconvenient but dig we must into the mine of Jewish teaching.

Rabbi Jacob Agus has described Jews as the antidiemonic and antimythological force in human history. This is what is needed in connection with U.S. policy in Vietnam. Here I express my own feelings. I am not a pacifist; I was a gunnery officer in the Navy in World War II. I applauded the containment of communism in Europe, our resistance to aggression in Korea and Kennedy's stand on Cuba. Yet I believe we must expose the juvenile American tendency to divide the world into "good guys and bad guys"; the world is too complicated for simplistic dichotomies and immature ideological crusades. We must remind ourselves and our fellow Americans of some simple truths about Vietnam, among which are the following: that we poured more than a billion dollars of aid into the French effort to control Indochina before France was forced out; that after the French withdrawal, we took over and installed Diem as puppet ruler of South Vietnam, gave him military support in direct violation of the 1954 Geneva accord, and conspired with him to subvert the reunification elections promised in the accord because we didn't like the way the election would have turned out; that when his role became too distasteful to the people of South Vietnam, destroying his usefulness to us, we conspired to get rid of him; that

better English than their mother tongue by about the time they reach third grade.

"If it's not school, it is 'Batman,'" a mother said. "TV is an enormous English language influence on the kids."

At a meeting of Hispanic community leaders here recently some speakers said candidly that they would rather use English because it came easier to them.

However, "Spanish is here to stay," many of those interviewed stressed, although few would predict that New York would become bilingual in the technical sense, like Montreal, where English and French are officially used. The consensus was that the Spanish language as well as certain Latin traits would permanently flavor the city much in the way they do in Miami, where most of the Cuban exiles have settled.

Today Spanish language mass media are powerful here and command great loyalty among their audience. They include television channel 47 and three radio stations—WADO, which has been broadcasting around the clock since March 1, WHOM and WBNX. Charles Baltin, vice president of WHOM, pointed to increasing Spanish language quality advertising by nationwide food, beverage, detergent, and tobacco manufacturers as proof that business was expecting the Hispanic market to last for "a couple of generations at least" and rapidly gain in purchasing power.

Ralph Costantino, program director of the same station, said: "Ethnic broadcasting once was multilingual—I remember making Chinese programs. Now it is almost exclusively geared to Spanish. This is a hemispheric language unlike Italian, which is spoken in a faraway country; most Italobrazilians think they know Italian, when all they speak is some southern dialect."

Far ahead in the newspaper field is *El Diario-La Prensa* with a circulation of about 30,000 and a strongly Democratic editorial line. Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY will dedicate the newspaper's new \$3 million building at 181 Hudson Street on April 12. The publisher, O. Roy Chalk, said he had set aside three floors of the eight-story structure for audiovisual mass teaching of the Spanish language to civil service workers and other groups as "New York very definitely is going bilingual." Mr. Chalk, who has large transportation, communications, and real estate interests, said he was preparing a national edition of his newspaper for distribution coast to coast, in Puerto Rico, Latin American countries, and Spain.

#### A LINDSAY SUPPORTER

*El Tiempo* started as a weekly in 1963 and became a daily last October. It will move into new, larger quarters at 116 West 14th Street on June 1. Its editor in chief, Stanley Ross, reported a circulation of 35,000.

The paper supports Mayor Lindsay and makes particular efforts to reach Spanish-language readers outside the Puerto Rican community here.

New York also has 24 Spanish-language motion picture theaters, scores of Latin nightclubs, and about 4,000 bodegas (groceries) owned by and catering to Puerto Ricans. A Brooklyn food market chain is controlled by a Puerto Rican company. Spanish-speaking persons also operate about 2,000 barbershops, a field once dominated by Italians, as well as hundreds of restaurants, insurance and real estate agencies, and other businesses.

An expert on Hispanic business here, Julio Hernandez, said Cubans had made "tremendous inroads—they are very resourceful." Mr. Hernandez heads the Lower Manhattan Business Development and Opportunity Corps, which receives Federal antipoverty funds and has granted 63 loans totaling \$500,000 since it started 8 months ago. It also promotes what is believed to be the first Spanish-language basic management course in the country.

Three credit institutions here are doing business mainly with Puerto Ricans, the Banco Popular de Puerto Rico, the Banco de Ponce, and the Ponce de Leon Federal Savings and Loan Association. The manager of the last establishment, Erasto Torres, said that an increasing number of Puerto Ricans were buying homes in the \$20,000 to \$25,000 price range. The Pelham Bay area of the Bronx is favored by the new Hispanic middle class. Others move to Long Island.

There are still near-ghettos of Puerto Ricans in the city—"Spanish Harlem" from East 96th to 118th Street, many blocks on and off Broadway on the Upper West Side, and in south and east Bronx. Spanish neighborhoods abound also on Manhattan's Lower East Side, once mainly Jewish, the Greenpoint, Williamsburg, and Brownsville sections of Brooklyn, and other pockets in that borough and in Queens.

Cubans have generally kept away from Puerto Rican areas. The average Cuban in New York, often well educated, is ahead of the average Puerto Rican on the social-economic ladder even though he has the added handicap of alien status.

Last year's civil war in the Dominican Republic touched off a still growing immigration movement from that country. Many Dominicans arrive with enough money to buy out or squeeze out poorer Puerto Ricans. The Corona section of Queens was found to be harboring a sizable Dominican colony. Conflicts and resentment between Dominicans and Puerto Ricans were reported in several areas.

About 28,950 Dominicans had registered as alien residents of New York in January, according to Sol Marks, Deputy District Director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Dominican Consulate General estimated that 65,000 Dominicans were living here. The discrepancy between the two figures may be due to the fact that many earlier Dominican immigrants attained U.S. citizenship, and others entered on temporary visas and failed to register.

A total of 48,000 Cubans and 17,628 Colombians also registered in January as alien residents here. However the Cuban and Cuban-descended population is known to be much larger because many earlier immigrants are now citizens.

The Puerto Rican population of New York was little more than 60,000 in 1940, about 245,000 in 1950 and about 612,000 in 1960. It may reach 750,000 early next year. The migration from Puerto Rico to New York was highest in 1953, with nearly 70,000 persons, and again in 1956, with more than 52,000. Since then it has fallen off. The success of the island's economic development program, "Operation Bootstrap," induced many Puerto Ricans to return home. In 1961 nearly 1,800 Puerto Ricans more returned to their homeland than those settling in New York, and in 1963 the net outflow was nearly 5,500.

Since 1964 the migration here has been rising again, showing a net inflow of 1,370 in that year and of 16,678 in 1965. As manpower shortages become more pressing in many U.S. industries and wages go up, Puerto Ricans again seek their fortune in the big city that is "only \$45 away"—the cheapest air fare from San Juan to New York.

The present influx from Puerto Rico is "more sophisticated," according to Francisca Bou, assistant director of the migration division here of the Puerto Rican labor department. "In past years," she said, "people from the island would come, shivering in thin clothes, with a battered suitcase and no place to go. Now many arrive better prepared, and fewer get stranded or are unskilled."

Nevertheless, about 160,000 Puerto Ricans are still on welfare rolls, comparatively a higher percentage than the 236,000 Negroes and 107,000 others on relief. Close to 200,000

Puerto Rican children are in New York's school system with only about 5,000 in the 12th grade. Puerto Rican leaders clamor for measures to enable many more of their community's youngsters to go to college.

Better education for young Puerto Ricans here is indispensable for "necessary leadership," Teodoro Moscoso, Mayor Lindsay's new consultant on Puerto Rican community affairs and economic development, said. The appointment of Mr. Moscoso, one of the world's leading experts on economic development and Latin American problems, was clearly meant to prove that the new city administration cares for Hispanic New York.

## Vietnam and the Jewish Conscience

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 6, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the bright spots which has pierced the gloom of war during the last few months, is the outspoken conscience of the religious community. No religious group has been more outspoken than the Jewish community.

In speaking out about Vietnam last November, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations brought a thoughtful moral note to the discussions of the war. Now, in the current issue of *American Judaism*, Albert Vorspan, director of the Commission on Social Action of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, develops the moral argument at greater length.

Albert Vorspan's article is thoughtful and thought provoking. If men consider his position "tender hearted," he points out:

That's what the Jewish position has always been.

He favors world law and observes:

We do not need a Jewish desk of the Rand Corp.

I think we all can benefit from reading Mr. Vorspan's words.

His article follows:

#### VIETNAM AND THE JEWISH CONSCIENCE

(By Albert Vorspan, author of "Ghosts of Justice" and co-author of "Justice and Judaism" and "A Tale of 10 Cities." His articles have appeared in *Time*, the *Reporter* and many other publications. Mr. Vorspan is director of the Commission on Social Action and director of programs of the UAHC.)

(Note.—At its biennial assembly in San Francisco in November 1965, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations adopted a resolution calling for a ceasefire and a political settlement of the war in Vietnam. The following article is an expression of personal opinion with respect to the course of events in Vietnam and we recognize our obligation to publish diverse views on so troubling and controversial an issue. Reactions from readers will appear in forthcoming issues of *American Judaism*.)

Should the American Jewish community, as such, be concerned with the moral issues raised by the growing crisis in Vietnam? The Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis have vigorously answered this